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Table of Contents

Volume Six, No. 2 Summer 1985

Articles

Revisionism On Trial: Developments in France, 1979–1983 133
Robert Faurisson

'Crystal Night' 1938: The Great Anti-German Spectacle 183
Ingrid Weckert

Nationalism and Genocide: The Origin of the Artificial Famine of 1932–1933 in Ukraine 207
Valentyn Moroz

A Challenge to Thought Control: The Historiography of Leon Degrelle 221
Robert J. Chapman

Book Reviews

Alan A. Ryan, Jr., Quiet Neighbors: *Prosecuting Nazi War Criminals in America* 231
Ted O'Keefe

Jochen von Lang, editor, *Eichmann Interrogated: Transcripts from the Archives of the Israeli Police* 237
Ted O'Keefe

Noam Chomsky, *The Fateful Triangle: The United States, Israel, & The Palestinians* 240
L.A. Rollins

J.N. Westwood, *The Eastern Front: The Soviet-German War, 1941-45* 244
Charles Lutton

Alexander McKee, *Dresden 1945: The Devil's Tinderbox* 247
Charles Lutton

H.W.F. Saggs, *The Might That Was Assyria* 250
Charles Lutton

Primo Levy, *The Periodic Table* 252
William B. Lindsey

About the Contributors 255

THE MYTH OF THE 'NEW HISTORY'

THE TECHNIQUES AND TACTICS OF THE MYTHOLOGISTS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

BY DAVID L. HOGGAN

The Myth of the 'New History', a general survey in the field of American historiography, is an important and vivid account of the central issues of American history. The seven wars through Korea are analyzed, and, not only is the reader given an account of the important revisionist studies in each field, but also a fresh evaluation of these crises and their historians.

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Dr. Hoggan has presented no less than twenty-five entirely separate courses in American, European, and World History at seven American and European colleges and universities during the years since he received his Ph.D. in History at Harvard University in 1948. His research and writing during this period, in contrast to the wide and general range of his teaching experience, has been highly specialized as he has dealt with such areas as the Rise of Marxism in Central Europe in the Mid-19th Century, Politics of the French Third Republic, Tsarist Russian Foreign Policy, the Origins of World War I and World War II, and the History of the United States Supreme Court.

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Revisionism On Trial:
Developments in France, 1979–1983

ROBERT FAURISSON

(Paper Presented to the Fifth International Revisionist Conference)

To Ditlieb Felderer

For a period of four years my publisher, Pierre Guillaume, his friends, and I faced considerable difficulties because of our common opinion about the myth of the gas chambers and the genocide of the Jews. Among those difficulties was first and foremost judicial repression. That repression has not yet ended. During those four years of struggle we were, so to speak, like swimmers struggling against the current. At times we were so weak compared to our adversaries that we ought to have abandoned the struggle. We were drowning. We could not go on any more. We felt that our situation was as desperate as that of a swimmer, as Céline said, trying to swim *up* Niagara Falls. We were attacked in the courts by some impressive opponents. Perhaps we should have adopted a purely defensive attitude. Instead, thinking that the best defense was a good offense, we counterattacked. We counter-sued those who were suing us. Sometimes we worsened our situation by saying or doing things that caused us new problems.

I am going to talk today only about the three principal suits that were lodged against us: one civil suit and two penal suits. The civil suit was brought against me for "personal damages" which I supposedly caused by an alleged "falsification of history." The first of the two penal suits, for libel, was lodged against my publisher and me by Léon Poliakov. The other penal suit was brought against me on grounds of racial defamation and incitement of racial hatred as the result of a sixty-word sentence that I used during a broadcast on Radio Europe-1 on 17 December 1980. The most important of those suits was the civil suit: It raised the basic question, the taboo question about the reality of the gas chambers and the genocide against the Jews. The corollary question was: this Faurisson who maintains that the gas chambers and the genocide are both part of one and the same historical lie, is he himself a liar, a forger and a falsifier?

The answer is quite clear and no misunderstanding is possible. Never—I repeat, never—has *any* court convicted me of falsifying history or of any similar crime, and eventually, in its verdict of 26 April 1983, the Court of Appeals in Paris emphasized the seriousness of my research about the problem of the gas chambers. The Court, because of the seriousness of my research, decided:

> The value of the conclusions defended by Faurisson rests *therefore* (emphasis mine) solely with the appraisal of experts, historians, and the public.

Gitta Sereny Honeyman, who attended my trials, dared to write and has continued to insist that I was condemned for falsification of history.* That is a deliberate lie.

I will talk at length about the civil suit which lasted for four years, finally ending on 26 April 1983, before the first chamber of the Court of Appeals in Paris. I was in effect convicted of having caused "personal damages," but not at all in the sense hoped for by my opponents. Far from considering me a falsifier or a liar, the Paris Court of Appeals wrote this about me: "This being the case, no one can convict him of lying (. . .)." I will soon put those words back into their context. Meanwhile, I think that Gitta Sereny, Pierre Vidal-Naquet, Georges Wellers, Léon Poliakov, and several other French and foreign exterminationists would be happy if a French court could say as much about them. I'm not the one who had the idea of asking a court to render a judgment about history; those people and their powerful friends had that idea. "As ye sow, so shall ye reap," as it is said. For four years they did their utmost

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New Statesman, 17 July 1981, pp. 16-19, "The Judgment of History": "Long-standing notions about academic freedom have been challenged by this month's conviction of a French writer for 'falsifying history'," Gitta Sereny Honeyman reports. "(. . .) Two Paris courts found Robert Faurisson (. . .) guilty of libel, provocation to hate, incitement to murder, and falsification of history. (. . .) falsification of history" (p. 16). "The 17-page judgment which finds that he 'falsified history' " (p. 19). See also *Searchlight*, vol. X, 1981, "Revisionism—The Myths and the Lies": "As an MRAP spokesman put it, 'It is a simple fact that the Holocaust happened and that Faurisson is a falsifier of history.' The court agreed (. . .)" (p. 12).

to convict me of lying and, at the end of four years, the judges in a sense said: "You complain about this professor. You say that he did you harm. Agreed! He has done you harm, and that is why we are convicting him. He has done you harm in every way that you could imagine, but certainly not by lying. He is everything that you could imagine, but on the question of the gas chambers he is certainly neither a liar nor a falsifier. He is a serious researcher. Our conclusion is: 'the value of the conclusions defended by Faurisson therefore rests solely with the appraisal of the experts, the historians, and the public.' "

Those three trials all had a paradoxical outcome: I was convicted and my opponents obtained the right to have published, at my expense, as is usual in such cases, the texts of my convictions; however, they have never had those texts printed, except for *one* judgment and *one* decree that they have published at their own expense, seriously falsifying their content on points which did not meet their expectations. Each time their victories have only been Pyrrhic victories.

I. The Civil Suit ("Falsification of History"? *No*)

1. What My Accusers Said

My accusers consisted of nine organizations. The first was the LICRA (the International League Against Racism and Anti-Semitism), presided over by Jean Pierre-Bloch. The second was the MRAP (Movement Against Racism and for Friendship Among Nations), presided over by Pierre Paraf. Notable among the seven other organizations were the Association of Deportees of Auschwitz and the Camps of Upper Silesia, presided over by Mrs. Marie-Elisa Cohen, and the Association of the Sons and Daughters of Jews Deported from France, presided over by Serge Klarsfeld. That suit was filed and coordinated by the LICRA. Jean Pierre-Bloch was personally in charge of it and, according to a statement by Pierre-Bloch, the LICRA is supposed to have invested considerable sums of money in that marathon trial. To take just one example: the LICRA, no doubt finding that its friends in France and in other countries were unable to provide it with proof of the existence of gas chambers for use at the trial, sent its three best lawyers, Bernard Jouanneau, Robert Badinter, and Marc Lévy, to visit Poland and Jerusalem. However, these three pilgrims came back from their pilgrimage without the hoped-for proof. Robert Badinter pleaded the case against me in the original trial, in the lower court, but then he became the Minister of Justice in Francois Mitterand's new Socialist government. From that time on we were able to hear his voice only through various representatives of the Public Prosecutor's office at our various trials. Robert Badinter showed an intense hostility toward us.

According to my accusers I was a forger, a falsifier, and a liar; I had used a clever method of falsification; I had falsified translations; I had distorted historical facts; I had avoided documents which would contradict my thesis; I had used fallacious technical arguments. However, all those accusations remained as vague as they were unanswerable. On only two points were my accusers relatively precise. According to them, I had:

1. purposely distorted some testimonies, including that of Johann Paul Kremer (the professor who had been temporarily mobilized as a doctor at the Auschwitz camp);
2. brushed aside without serious justification a number of proofs previously accepted at national and international trials.

2. The Lower Court Verdict

On 8 July 1981, the lower court in Paris rendered its verdict. It convicted me for "personal damages." The issue was whether I had caused such damage as the result of a falsification of history. The term "falsification of history" does not exist in French law, but the court could have adopted that verbal invention from LICRA. However, it did not do that. On the essential point of their accusation my opponents therefore did not obtain satisfaction. Nevertheless, the rest of the judgment must have satisfied them. The judges said that, as part of a sort of intellectual game, I had amused myself by denying everything. That game of systematic negation had shown me to be an academic whose superficiality ought to be punished. In other respects, the court thought that I had been lacking in prudence, in circumspection, and in intellectual neutrality since I had, in an irresponsible manner, treated too soon a historical problem that was too recent, too sorrowful, too sensitive. I should have waited for time to do its work of calming peoples' minds. Finally, the court reproached me in an even more curious way. It did not go so far as to say that I had been guilty of defending war crimes or of inciting racial hatred, but it did say that I had let other persons—unnamed—use my revisionist thesis to defend war crimes or to incite racial hatred. The court even specified that I had done that "with a remarkable lack of concern but with a clear conscience." I must admit that I don't quite understand how one can reconcile "a remarkable lack of concern" with "a clear conscience," especially when it is a case not of committing a sin yourself but of helping some unnamed persons to commit a sin of which you yourself are innocent. It seems to me that if the judges had been able to find in me not just a slightly diabolical soul but some tangible proof of some lie or of some falsification, they would have hastened to present that proof, to emphasize it and to condemn it in terms understandable to everyone.

3. *The Unfolding in the Court of Appeals*

I decided to appeal the 8 July 1981 judgment. Eighteen months later, the case was pleaded before the First Chamber of the Court of Appeals in Paris. Since the subject that I am dealing with here is rather dry, I would like for a moment to report some anecdotes relating to those three sessions on 13 and 14 December 1982 and 15 February 1983. To begin with, the court room in which our trial was to take place was the same place where Marshal Pétain had been tried for the first and last time, without any possibility of appeal. Just after the war, at the time when I was a student at the Sorbonne, I had come to attend several of the trials of the so-called "collaborators." Although I felt no sympathy for the collaborators and had been raised to hate Germany, I was astonished at the kind of justice that they pretended to apply to them. That recollection made me wonder what kind of justice *I* would receive in that chamber.

I do not have time to detail what took place in that impressive hall on 13 and 14 December 1982. There was a striking contrast between our lawyers and those of our opponents. I had two lawyers: Eric Delcroix, a rightist, and Yvon Chotard, a leftist and personal friend of Jean-Gabriel Cohn-Bendit. A third lawyer, Francois Berthout, represented the seven persons who had courageously stood at my side as "voluntary interveners"; those persons, all leftists, included two Jews; two of the seven belonged to the CNRS (the National Center for Scientific Research). That point always disturbed Gitta Sereny, who wrote:

> What is unusual about Faurisson is that he has managed to obtain serious assistance from the Left. (op. cit., p. 16)

Another point, which was really secondary, also disturbed her:

> At the Paris courthouse, Faurisson and Co. were surrounded by young, eager, and even attractive acolytes. (*Ibid.*, p. 17)

The lawyers for the opposing side (a coalition of nine organizations) looked like a crowd of black robes surmounted by obviously anxious faces. They had put into the record some briefs that were quite poor, and they must have sensed that. Our side had put into the record a well-drafted brief that was four times longer than the usual. We likewise provided the court with my *Mémoire en défense contre ceux qui m'accusent de falsifier l'histoire* (Memorandum in Defense Against Those Accusing Me of Falsifying

History) and a video-cassette on "The Problem of the Gas Chambers." While civil procedure in France is essentially written and the principals do not as a rule have the right to speak, I had asked to be heard and questioned. Unfortunately, the court decided not to look at the video-cassette, nor to question me. For four years, we had had the time to take the measure of the extreme historical and scientific weakness of the opposing side. In order to show that weakness, our tactic was to say over and over again that what we wanted from the other side was really very little:

> (1) that it present to the judges *one*, just *one* proof of the existence of *one single* homicidal gas chamber;
> (2) that it furnish *one*, only *one* example of falsification on my part.

We especially did not want a massive number of proofs or examples. We were waiting for just *one* proof and *one* example. That demand came back again and again as a *leitmotiv*: "One single proof, one single example." The lawyers for the opposing side were paralyzed by it. They knew that the judges were also waiting for that single proof, that single example. All of the rest was going to appear to be empty words and wasted breath. With their necks craned, the three judges of the court awaited the single proof, the single example. Our lawyers waited. We waited. The chamber waited. That kind of wait for two afternoons had a devastating effect. Simone Veil's son was overwhelmed and spent most of his time in his plea quoting extracts from my writings; you would have thought that he was pleading on my behalf. A succession of other lawyers came to deliver proposals without much conviction. A single one brought a well-constructed plea: Mr. Immerglik. His argumentation was the following: "In Germany, there is no pity for people like Faurisson; eliminate him." Then came the turn of Bernard Jouanneau, who was the LICRA's star in the absence of Robert Badinter. In the Poliakov trial, Jouanneau had turned toward me and cried out: "M. Faurisson, you are haunting my nights!" Before the Court of Appeals he began his plea in these terms:

> Faurisson! Ah! Faurisson again! At home my children ask me: "But when will you be finished talking about Faurisson?"

Mr. Jouanneau went on to talk for two hours. People were waiting for the single proof and the single example. He did not even try to produce an example of falsification. As regards the proof of the existence of one single gas chamber, he presented several, but each time he said, in a plaintive tone of voice: "Yes, I know. You will tell me that this is not really a proof." He ended his plea that day on a melodramatic note. Overwhelmed, Jouanneau lowered his voice more and more; he gave the impression that he was going to break into tears; that is in fact what took place; his last sentence was:

> In any event, this is the end of the Faurisson case for me.

Leaving the courtroom, he broke into tears on a colleague's shoulder. They had to have his wife come. At that moment, I recalled what we had said in our 44-page brief: we had described in advance the drama of the LICRA lawyers. In the beginning they had believed that they were going off on a crusade against the infidels. They were sure of the goodness of their cause. They were convinced that the proofs and the eyewitnesses accounts would come to them *en masse*. Little by little, they found themselves all alone, exposed for all to see, with a pile of useless paper: translations that their own friends had falsified, photographs that proved nothing, inconsistent written testimonies, and not one single witness ready to testify about the gas chambers, not even Filip Müller, the "author" of a ghost-written book entitled, in the French edition, *Three Years in a Gas Chamber at Auschwitz* (in the English edition: *Eyewitness Auschwitz*, New York, Stein and Day, 1979, xiv + 180 pages).

The Attorney General, Mrs. Flipo, asked for two months to present her case. She was representing the head of her Ministry, Robert Badinter. She pleaded her case on 15 February 1983. Foregoing any attempt at argumentation, Mrs. Flipo allowed herself to wax lyrical. She evoked the canonization of Father Kolbe, Willy Brandt's falling to his knees in Warsaw and, in closing, she quoted Elie Wiesel. Here is her peroration:

> Elie Wiesel, who, with Samuel Pisar, was the youngest escapee from the camps, has written: "After night and dawn, the day breaks: the dead look for open hearts, which will welcome them and be their messengers."

And Mrs. Flipo, turning toward the court, added in closing:

> Let us be those messengers.

The court also asked for two months to render its verdict.

4. *The Verdict of the Court of Appeals (26 April 1983)*

On 26 April 1983 the First Chamber of the Court of Appeals in Paris rendered its verdict. It confirmed the judgment of the lower court, but in so doing it amended the reason for my conviction to such an extent that I would be happy to be convicted ten times that way at the request of the LICRA. I will not go into detail about that verdict. My publisher, Pierre Guillaume, has just published a brochure entitled *Epilogue judiciaire de l'affaire Faurisson (Judicial*

Epilogue to the Faurisson Case). There you can find the complete text of the verdict as well as an annotated analysis of the ten essential paragraphs of that verdict: five paragraphs are for, and five paragraphs are against, the revisionist thesis, as the judges understood and interpreted it.

a. Five Paragraphs in Favor of the Revisionist Thesis

The lower court had granted the existence of the gas chambers as a kind of implicit reality and it did not question for a single moment the value of the testimonies of those who claim that the gas chambers did exist. The Court of Appeals proceeded quite differently. As a matter of fact, not only did it pose the question about whether the gas chambers existed, but it asked itself what value to give to the many testimonies about their existence. It began with a sacrilegious sentence. Using a formulation suggesting doubt and using the conditional voice, the court wrote:

> Mr. Faurisson's research dealt with the existence of the gas chambers which, *if one were to believe* the many testimonies, were *supposedly* used during the Second World War to systematically put to death some of the persons deported by the German authorities. (emphasis mine)

The LICRA had accused me of dealing with the question of the gas chambers with, at the least, some frivolity, a culpable lack of seriousness that it had tried to demonstrate. The court answered:

> Limiting ourselves for the time being to the historical problem that Mr. Faurisson wanted to raise on this point [can we believe in the gas chambers and in the many testimonies about their existence?], it is proper to state that the accusations of frivolity made against him *are lacking in pertinence and are not sufficiently proven.* (emphasis mine)

Let me remind you here that the LICRA and the eight other organizations had had *four years* to try to prove their accusations, including that of culpable lack of seriousness. They had also reproached me for having neither a logical approach nor any argumentation. The court answered that I had a logical approach and that I had an argumentation. Its first impulse had led it to go so far as to write that I had a "scholarly" argumentation; then, thinking the better of it and perhaps thinking that it did not have the competence to describe my argumentation in that way, it made a handwritten correction on the typed page, which prudently said that Mr. Faurisson had "an argumentation [that he thinks is] of a scholarly nature"; but further on, as we will see, the word "scholarly" will in a sense be restored to me by implication. For the time being, the court said:

> In fact, Faurisson's logical approach consists of trying to demonstrate, by argumentation [that he thinks is] of a scholarly nature, that the existence of the gas chambers, as they have usually been described since 1945, runs into an absolute impossibility . . .

The court specifies—and that specification is important—that this is an absolute impossibility

> which would be sufficient by itself to *invalidate* all of the existing testimonies or, at least, to *make them suspect*. (emphasis mine)

I suppose that the court was thinking there about the impossibility of a physical/chemical kind that I have often pointed out in my writings, but it should be noted that my thesis about the nonexistence of the gas chambers is also based on all kinds of arguments, and not just on an argument based on physics and/or chemistry.

The LICRA has asked the court to condemn my methods and my arguments. There again, the court refused to bring in a conviction, declaring:

> It is not the job of the court to make a pronouncement on the legitimacy of such a method or about the full significance of the arguments set forth by Mr. Faurisson.

As to the very important question of the testimonies, the LICRA had stated that I had frivolously or negligently brushed those testimonies aside or that I had deliberately chosen to ignore them. To that the court responded:

> Nor is it any more permissible for the court, considering the research to which he has devoted himself, to state that Mr. Faurisson has dismissed the testimonies frivolously or negligently, or that he has deliberately chosen to ignore them.

In clear English, that means that I had studied the testimonies and that if I dismissed them, it was for good reasons which appeared to be the result of the research to which I had devoted myself.

Now we come to the main point: that of lying. The LICRA treated me as a liar at every turn, particularly when I said that I had studied the documents for more than fourteen years and that I had consulted research organizations like the CDJC (Center for Contemporary Jewish Documentation) in Paris and many other organizations or persons during the time. The LICRA was right to have made its accusation of lying on that point. As a matter of fact, although French law does not allow judges to make themselves into judges of historical truth, it nevertheless does authorize them to decide whether the researcher has or has not really shown, in his research, a concern for making genuine scholarly inquiries. If, according to the judges, Faurisson had not shown concern to make such inquiries as he claimed to have made, by that very fact he could have been declared to be a false researcher and a liar, that is to say, finally, an imposter. The other side had had four years to prove that I was a liar on this essential point. At the end of those four years, the Court of Appeals added up the balance sheet. Talking about the present state of the situation and about the attempts to prove that Faurisson is a liar, the court stated:

> Furthermore, this being the case, no one can convict him of lying when he enumerates the many documents that he claims to have studied and the organizations at which he supposedly did research for more than fourteen years.

Then the court came to the logical conclusion of all that it had just said and its sentence fell like a guillotine blade for the LICRA, for the eight other organizations, and for all those who dared to say that the problem of the gas chambers was settled and who thought that my writings were the business only of the courts. Here is that sentence in the form of a conclusion:

> The value of the conclusions defended by Mr. Faurisson therefore rests solely with the appraisal of experts, historians, and the public.

That is exactly what exterminationists everywhere want to avoid at all costs. Under no circumstances do they want to see the problem of the gas chambers and especially that of the eyewitness accounts become a subject to be debated by experts and historians. Above all, it is absolutely necessary that the general public not be brought up to date about that problem and that it not freely debate it.

I don't think that it is necessary to insist any further on the historic importance of that last sentence of the Court of Appeals in Paris. All the rest of the Court's verdict can only be anti-climactic after that. I will, however, pause here for a few moments.

b. Five Paragraphs Against Robert Faurisson

The three French judges could hardly have gone farther. They would have caused a scandal if, following the logical path, they had dismissed the all-powerful LICRA organization (which includes among its members Francois Mitterrand, President of the Republic, and Robert Badinter as well as so many different personalities from all the influential circles in French society). The question for them therefore became: how to confirm the judgment of the lower court convicting Faurisson? It is obvious to anyone who habitually makes grammatical and logical analyses of French texts that the three judges sweated blood in drafting the rest of their verdict.

The judges reproached me for not having confined myself to what they called my "critical work" on the gas chambers and the eyewitness accounts; that work had, according to them, a "scholarly character": at least, that is what one can deduce from a sentence in which they criticize me for "assertions that *no longer* exhibit any scholarly character and that are dependent upon pure polemic." However, they do not give any examples of such assertions. They reprimand me for having written: "the alleged massacres in gas chambers and the alleged genocide are one and the same lie." They do not say that that statement is false. They never say to me: "You are perhaps right about the gas chambers and the eyewitness accounts, but you are wrong about the genocide." They know that the genocide and the gas chambers are as closely related as a specific crime can be with the specific weapon that allowed that crime to take place; they no doubt see very well that it is hard to continue to claim that a specific crime (genocide) took place if it is shown that the specific weapon needed to commit it (the gas chambers) did not exist. What those worthy judges reproach me for is for having summarized my thoughts in the form of what they call a "slogan"; a slogan is out of place here. The most annoying thing about this is that this slogan had been concocted both by a journalist from the *Matin de Paris* and also by our three judges. As a matter of fact, the brevity of that nineteen word "slogan" is explained as follows: in 1978 I wrote the *Matin de Paris* a letter, for publication, the first sentence of which was argumentative and long: 65 words. The newspaperman printed that sentence only after cutting off the entire end of it. Then came the judges who, finding the sentence with its end removed, in their turn cut off its entire beginning. So it was that 65 words became 19 words and a long, argumentative sentence took on the brief and slightly vulgar character of a slogan. In reality, I tend to sum up my thoughts in a longer form and to give them an historical importance thanks to certain words that make reference to history; so it was that I wrote:

> The alleged *Hitlerite* gas chambers and the alleged genocide of the *Jews* form one and the same *historical* lie.

A historical lie is not to be confused with a vulgar lie. It is a lie in which there are necessarily a ridiculously small number of liars or imposters in relation to the masses of dupes or victims who are necessary for it to have a long life.

The court said that I sought on every occasion to diminish the criminal character of the deportation and that, in that spirit, I split hairs. But, as you can read in the *Judicial Epilogue* (See Appendice III), the examples that it gives prove most of all that the court has never studied very carefully, and has rather vague knowledge about, certain historical subjects.

Finally, the court went on to a whole series of sentimental reproaches. It said that I had not been able to find one word to show my respect for the victims of the persecutions and deportations. The court is wrong; on several occasions I have shown my respect for such victims of the Germans and, on occasions, I happen to have used precisely the word "respect." I must say that, in contrast to the judges, I think that I ought to show my respect for all types of victims, including even the victims of the persecutions and deportations carried out by the Allies, including even the victims of the historical big lie and great imposture. The court said that my "revisionism" *can . . . appear . . .* as an *attempt at a more or less wholesale rehabilitation* of Nazism. All that I see there are speculations. If I understand correctly, the Court thinks that I am not a Nazi, but it could be that behind me there is silhouetted the shadow-of-the-shadow of a Nazi.

Having described me in that way, in a way likely to frighten small children, the court drew a whole series of conclusions that are as arbitrary as their point of departure; it painted an ever darker portrait of me; I became an almost diabolical creature; that is what the lower court had already insinuated. The Court of Appeals states that "thus," that is to say as it presented me, I was as offensive to the survivors as I was insulting to the dead; because of me (a shadow Nazi and a kind of devil), the general public finds itself incited to misunderstand or even to doubt those sufferings (the court continues to think only about the sufferings of one single portion of those who suffered, by the tens of millions, during the war).

In its last sentence, the court appealed so much to the emotions that, without desiring it, it produced a moment of humor. It wrote:

> [the positions thus adopted by Faurisson] are obviously, as the [lower] court has correctly pointed out, of such kind as to provoke passionately aggressive actions against all those who find themselves thus implicitly accused of lying and deception.

I will explain that sentence of the court. In the first part of its verdict, the court had indeed seen that it was as a result of serious work that I had concluded that the gas chambers were a lie and a deception. But, in the second part of its verdict, what saddened the court was that it realized that a lie implies the existence of liars and that a deception implies the existence of deceivers. And that, the court thinks, is serious. There are going to be people who are going to feel that this is directed against them. Faurisson is definitely a trouble maker. Let's punish him!

My voluntary interveners and I accepted the punishment, that is to say the conviction for "damages," and we decided not to appeal it. However, I do deplore the fact that the lower court and the

Court of Appeals never had the courage to examine what we, for our part, called the frauds of the LICRA (frauds relating to texts, photographs, and translations). It would also have been instructive for the court to answer the following question: "If it is true that Mr. Faurisson is not a falsifier and if, in order to demonstrate that the gas chambers never existed, he has for four years (from 1979 to 1983) used arguments and documents without rendering himself guilty of frivolity, negligence, deliberate ignorance, bad faith or lying, can the judges of the court tell us their opinion about those who have maintained for nearly forty years (1945–1983) that the gas chambers did exist? How do those people, who are lecturing others, rate as regards frivolity, negligence, deliberate ignorance, bad faith, lying and, as they say, the falsification of history?" The court did not answer that question.

5. The Civil Suit: The Opposing Side's File Was Enormous and Empty

The judges must have been aware of the way in which our opponents made up their file. The latter had inordinately extended the time allowed for depositing documents into the file. They first deposited completely worthless documents, and then ill-assorted documents with most often falsified translations.

a. Falsified Translations, Suspicious Stories

We had pointed out those falsifications to Judge Pierre Drai, who was in charge of supervising the preparations for the trial. Pierre Drai, in spite of his hostility toward us, had been obliged to ask the LICRA for some translations by recognized experts. I would like to make clear that the recognized experts chosen by the LICRA hardly did better. One of their experts in particular, Victor Borten, would be held up to ridicule before the judges by one of my lawyers for the rare stupidity of his expert appraisals. It was he, in particular, who at great length explained that the word *Leichenkeller* could not have existed in the German language and that it was a word from the famous secret language of the SS, a word used, he added, only from 1942 until the beginning of 1945, to designate a homicidal gas chamber. It was necessary for us to explain to that expert that the word already existed in the great Grimm and Grimm dictionary in 1886 and that even in our own time, in West Berlin, the crematory in Ruheleben has some *Leichenkeller*, that is to say morgues located below ground and designed to preserve 500 bodies. The other expert, Mrs. Magaly Heesch, translated, for example, *Absetzgrube*, which means "disposal pit," by using the phrase "pit for bodies." The following sentence appears in a letter from Himmler to the statistician Richard Korherr in regard to the Jews: "Es wurden durchgeschleust durch die Lager im Generalgouvernement." ("They were passing through the camps of the General Government.") Instead of translating "durchgeschleust" by using the words "passing through" or "transiting through," she translated that word, thought to belong to a coded language, with the words "secretly proceeding" (in a homicidal sense, of course). The LICRA had circulated in bulk a confession by Gerstein, Filip Müller's book, and even Martin Gray's *For Those I Loved.* I would like to point out here, in passing, that the ghostwriter for that swindler, Martin Gray, is named Max Gallo. It was Max Gallo who completely made up the episode in Gray's book about the gas chamber at Treblinka. He is now Francois Mitterrand's official spokesman.

b. The Secret Language of the SS: "Sonderaktion," "Final Solution"

The LICRA never stopped referring to the secret character of the language of the SS: a language with a key; a key that the LICRA was in possession of. The LICRA did not trouble itself about contradictions: according to it, and depending on the needs of the moment, at one time the secret language of the SS was said to have fooled no one and was an open secret; at another time that language was said to be so secret as to challenge the most cunning persons, except for the LICRA; and at yet another time (nobody knows why) the language of the SS no longer bothered with any code or "double code," and, it seems, it became clear, transparent and cynical. The LICRA navigated as the situation demanded: according to it, at one time everyone *knew*, at another time no one could have *known*, and at yet another time everyone gave themselves the cue to pretend to *know* nothing but to indicate at the same time by a wink of the eye that they *knew* very well.

The LICRA depended very much on the word *Sonderaktion.* ("Special action" or "special operation"). For the LICRA, that word was an SS word of the "Top Secret" category. It is certainly true that the meaning of that word, as is the case with most words, is variable; nevertheless, the meaning varies not in the absolute but in a context. For example, *Sonderaktion* could designate any military or police operation outside of the military or police routine. It was applied then to a special operation of a determined time which could have resulted in, for example, arrests, whether or not followed by internment, execution, or simple questioning. It is false to say that the word or the action that *Sonderaktion* designated was necessarily secret. On 25 June 1942, 64 Jews were arrested by the Germans in the Orleans area (France). It was called *Sonderaktion* says Serge Klarsfeld (French edition of his *Memorial to the Jews deported from France,* 1978, p. 62). Then those Jews were deported, but the Germans most of the time avoided the word "deportation," as well as the expression "shipment toward East." We have documents saying that deportation must be avoided because it called to mind "deportation to Siberia at the time of the tsars" (Doc. RF-1215) and "shipment toward East" had to be avoided because French workers were shipped to Germany (Doc. RF-1219). But sometimes in spite of those recommendations those words or expressions were still used in some documents. In his personal diary Dr. Johann-Paul Kremer did use the official expression "Sonderaktion aus Holland," meaning deportation from Holland (and not "special assignment" as I said in my article "Confessions of SS Men who were at Auschwitz," *The Journal of Historical Review,* Summer 1981, p. 103). Therefore it is true that *Sonderaktion* could be used as a euphemism but not as far as for "extermination" or "gassings"! The same thing for *Sonderbehandlung*; for example in the famous "Korherr reports" this word meant "Aussiedlung" which is in this case forced transplantation (Letter from Dr. Richard Korrherr to *Der Spiegel* No. 31/1977, p. 12).

The LICRA also used against us the worn-out argument about the "final solution," a euphemism, it said, for extermination. I will not linger on that nonsense. The final solution of the Jewish problem does not imply the extermination of the Jews any more than the final solution of the problem of the Palestinians or of the problem of the unemployed implies the extermination of the Palestinians or of the unemployed. A final solution can be favorable, in spite of all the trials to be undergone in order eventually to reach it. In this regard I owe a precious piece of information to a Belgian friend, Pierre Moreau, whom some of us know for his revisionist scholarship. Emile Vandervelde, the President of the Belgian Workers Party, was very much in favor of the Zionist Socialists. In 1929, he published a book entitled *Le Pays d'Israel* (*Un marxiste en Palestine,* Paris, Editions Rieder, 262pp). On page 184 of that book, he wrote that he believed with all the fervor of his Socialist convictions "in some favorable final solutions" for the Jews of Palestine. In the following year, in 1930, a translation of that book was published under the title of *Schaffendes Palaestina* (*Der Juedische Aufbau heute und morgen, von einem Sozialisten,* Dresden, Carl Reisner Verlag, 240pp). On page 174 of that translation, the plural of "favorable final solutions" in German became a singular and thus we read: "eine günstige Endloesung" ("a favorable final solution"). Let us make it clear here that the final solution ("Endloesung") that the Belgian author was dreaming of was an understanding between the sons of Israel and the sons of Ishmael.

He added that the final solution ought not to be the act of "subjecting the Arab population to new forces of domination and exploitation."

c. The Testimony of Johann Paul Kremer (He Retracted His Confession)

The LICRA reproached me for having "voluntarily distorted certain testimonies such as that of Johann Paul Kremer." I will not go back on that subject. I have already dealt with it in my abovementioned article. I demonstrated that it was, to the contrary, Poliakov, Wellers, and Klarsfeld who had seriously distorted the original text of Johann Paul Kremer's private notebooks in order to make him say that Auschwitz was an extermination camp with gas chambers. I likewise showed the absurdity of the alleged confessions obtained from him by the Polish Stalinist military court.

I said that Professor Kremer, appearing before the tribunal in Münster (Westphalia) in 1960, had confirmed the confession that Communist examining magistrate Jan Sehn (of Jewish origin?) had obtained from him in 1947 and that at the Frankfurt Trial (1963–1965) he had been called as a prosecution witness against his compatriots. What I did not yet know in 1980 and what I learned later is the reason why the poor man, after ten years of prison in Poland (1947–1957) and after returning to his city of Münster, had gone before a German tribunal. I discovered the reason while reading, in its French version, the *Anthologie d'Auschwitz* (blue), Volume 1, Part 1, Warsaw, 1969, pp. 239 to 261. The reason is that after his return to Münster in 1957, Kremer began to protest against the treatment that he had undergone at the hands of the Polish courts and (using here the words used by the Polish Communists themselves in the *Anthologie*)

> [by his protests and by his request to regain his chair as a professor, Kremer attracted the attention] of certain circles and of certain persons who made him appear once more before the Courts (p. 239).

Kremer, as a matter of fact, had complained that in Poland "only hatred was entitled to give its opinion" (p. 240). Better than that, we learn, thanks to that Communist publication, that after his return to Münster Kremer *retracted his confessions.* In the pious Communist jargon:

> [Kremer] disputed the explanations that he had furnished during the investigation in Cracow and which had been read to him [at the Münster tribunal] (p. 242).

The most degrading fact for the judges of the Münster tribunal was the complacency with which they had heard the explanations furnished by Jan Sehn, who had come from Cracow. You must read the Communist account of that session. It ought to be quoted in its entirety. In Cracow in 1947, Kremer had not had any choice. It had been necessary for him to confess. The most astonishing thing is what Jan Sehn himself ended up saying before the German judges. As far as he was concerned, from the start Kremer did not have the right to plead not guilty. Jan Sehn said, with a marvelous lack of awareness of what he was saying:

> A declaration of innocence would have been incompatible with what the accused had written [in his private diary] (p. 246).

In other words, the Communist Jan Sehn had decided that Kremer's private diary was written in a sort of coded language to which he, Jan Sehn, possessed the key. Prisoner Kremer could only bow before the authority and the ukase of examining magistrate Jan Sehn. In my lecture in 1980 I said, in conclusion, regarding the drama of Johann Paul Kremer: "I think often of that old man. I think sometimes also of his tormentors" (p. 127). I think of him even more often now that I have the confirmation of the drama lived through by Professor Johann Paul Kremer. His Polish and German tormentors profited from him to the very end. Kremer was used like a puppet. He came to the Frankfurt Trial to make a forced appearance there. According to his own words, he had experienced "a dilemma that is not simple for human understanding." Listen to his final declaration at the Münster trial in 1960 and tell me whether that declaration is that of an abominable criminal who supposedly participated in horrible homicidal gassings or rather that of an unfortunate academic, a sort of inoffensive old fellow who found himself caught—like so many Germans in the past and even today—in a tragic situation where it is necessary to confess (or to make a pretense of confessing) vile crimes which, in reality, were never committed. Listen to Kremer and, through his voice, listen to the voice of so many Germans who have been humiliated, injured and executed:

> If according to human criteria I have done something evil, I can only ask you to take into consideration my age and my tragic fate. I have no knowledge of any offense in the juridical and penal sense. I entrust to the Supreme Judge of everyone the task of resolving a dilemma that is not simple for human understanding (p. 258).

Professor Kremer, in the final account, was less skillful and prudent than his fellow professor, Wilhelm Pfannenstiel, in the Gerstein case. Pfannenstiel, the father of five children, was able to save a good career for himself thanks to his extremely vague confessions.

d. The Gas Chamber at Struthof-Natzweiler (Alsace)

The LICRA accused me of having "without serious justification brushed aside a certain number of proofs previously accepted at national and international trials." In order to prove that, it asked that there be put into evidence the file put together by the French military court for the trial of the guards of the Struthof-Natzweiler concentration camp in Alsace.

However, that file provided proof that there had been *no* homicidal gas chamber at Struthof, but only one small room which originally had been a refrigeration chamber that had later been transformed into a gas chamber for training young recruits in how to wear their gas masks. Professor Bickenbach had taken advantage of the existence of that gas chamber to make some tests there of the antidote to phosgene gas. As a matter of fact, the Germans had learned that the Allies, by the end of 1942, were stockpiling large quantities of phosgene gas in North Africa and they feared a bombing of German cities with it. The professor had tested an antidote (urotropine) first on himself and then on some detainees from the camp who, we are told, came forward voluntarily in exchange for rewards in the form of food or cigarettes. As a result there were two or three accidental deaths of persons after they had been hospitalized (and not four deaths as we erroneously wrote in our brief in court). In that room Josef Kramer is supposed to have gassed prisoners with mysterious salts which, when mixed with water, would kill in one minute. The nonsense of the two contradictory confessions of Josef Kramer about gassings at Struthof can itself be explained by the cruelties to which he had been subjected by his British guards in Germany. They had, for example, shut him up for an entire night in a refrigeration chamber (perhaps because he had specifically said that the alleged homicidal gas chamber at Struthof had first been a refrigeration chamber). Those cruelties were reported with a certain amount of delight by a member of the French Résistance who was present at the scene, Dr. J.L. Fréjafon, in his book entitled *Bergen-Belsen* (preface by Louis-Martin Chauffier, Librairie Valois, 1945, xv + 103 pages), page 22.

In the same file from the French military court there was an expert report by Dr. René Fabre, Dean of the Faculty of Pharmacology in Paris. That file has disappeared but, thanks to another document, we know that Dr. Fabre had been charged with determining whether the bodies found at the Anatomy Institute in Strasbourg and thought to have been the bodies of people "gassed" at Struthof bore any traces of poison. The conclusion of that expert report had been negative. There was no trace of hydrocyanic acid either in the bodies or in the scrapings from the alleged homicidal gas chamber, nor in the debris from it (jars W and X).

I recall that, in a more general way, they had to make hundreds of investigations of the German concentration camps. We can say with certainty that none of those investigations contained

> —either a complete expert report proving that such or such a room called a gas chamber was in fact a homicidal gas chamber;
> —or an autopsy report showing that such or such a body was the body of a person killed by a toxic product, gas or otherwise.

Today the alleged homicidal gas chamber at Struthof is no longer open to visitors. A small sign leads the tourist to believe that a visit can be made on request. That is false. The French are now ashamed of their national gas chamber, still classified as a "historical monument."

e. The Miraculous Manuscripts Discovered at Auschwitz (the "Internationale" in the Gas Chamber)

Another argument from the LICRA was, of course, made up of eyewitness accounts. The LICRA in particular invoked the famous accounts discovered at Auschwitz-Birkenau thanks to some miraculous excavations. Yes: miraculous excavations. Some people perhaps are familiar with the photo of the hole where the Poles say that they found the container that held the manuscript of one Salmen Lewenthal. Around the hole there is no trace of excavations! The excavators had stumbled exactly on the place where there was something to discover! Let us here salute a miracle of exterminationist psychic powers (see *Hefte von Auschwitz,* Special Issue (I), *Handschriften von Mitgliedern des Sonderkommandos,* Verlag Staatliches Auschwitz-Museum, 1972, 220pp, p. 135, first photo). The best known of those testimonies is called the "manuscript of the unknown author." The original text is in Yiddish with Hebrew characters. It was published in German by the Poles (pp. 118-128 of the above mentioned publication). The LICRA certainly took care not to use that edition. It furnished excerpts in Polish with a translation into French. The translator especially chose one passage where the action unfolds in "the" (!) gas chamber at Birkenau. We do not know where the witness was found to describe the following scene. The victims were packed into the gas chamber. Suddenly, a young Polish girl, naked like all those who were there, addressed the assembled victims as well as the Jews of the special commando charged with putting those victims to death. That inflamed and patriotic speech ended with these words:

> Down with the barbarism of Hitler's Germany! Long live Poland!

Then, the young Polish women turned toward the Jews of the special commando. She did not abuse them; on the contrary, she urged them to survive in order to bear witness later to the courage of the victims and to avenge those crimes. Then an interesting scene took place. The Poles knelt down on the ground. The text says that they recited "a prayer with an attitude that made a great impression." The LICRA's text does not say upon whom that impression was made. The original Yiddish text said: "on everyone." Then, the Poles all stood up together in the gas chamber, where apparently there was no lack of space since they had been able to kneel down and stand up again. All together they sang in chorus the Polish national anthem and the Jews, at the same time, sang the Hativkah.* (Here I would like to make a suggestion to the authorities at the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles or to those at the future Memorial to the Holocaust in Washington: could they reconstruct that scene, complete with sound accompaniment, to let everyone see the beauty and truth of it?) Here the LICRA cut into its text with an ellipsis placed between brackets. And, according to the LICRA, the text goes on as follows:

> While they were singing, the Red Cross car arrived; the gas was thrown in to the chamber and they all gave up their souls amidst songs and ecstasy, dreaming of the brotherhood of a better world.

The narrator does not reveal to us how he was able to read the minds of the victims. As to the LICRA, if it cut the text, it was because it contained an embarrassing detail. Here is that detail as the Auschwitz Museum edition gives it to us (p. 121): the two anthems were sung at the same time; the "lyrical tones" of the two anthems had blended into one whole; then, the Poles and the Jews, all together, began to sing the "*Internationale*"! I think that this is what Soviet esthetics call "Socialist Realism." We owe the discovery and the deciphering of the "manuscript of an unknown author" to Professor Bernard Mark, Director of the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw. In 1962, his co-religionist Michel Borwicz, who became a French citizen after the war, wrote in the *Revue d'histoire de la deuxiéme guerre mondiale* that Professor Bernard Mark was more or less a forger of texts (January, 1962, p. 93). Bernard Mark's forgeries continue to be published and sold. In 1982, his widow published in France a book entitled *Des Voix dans la nuit* (Voices in the Night) (Editions Plon, 1982, 362pp). The famous "unknown author" then lost his anonymity and is now named Leib Langfus. That book is full of lies. The French press nevertheless greeted the production as a collection of eyewitness

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*Compare with the Czechoslovakians described by Filip Müller: "[In the gas chamber] they sang first the Czechoslovak anthem and then the Hebrew song 'Hatikva' " (*Eyewitness Auschwitz*, Stein and Day, 1979, xiv + 180pp; p. 110).

accounts that are compellingly truthful (Gilles Lambert's article in *Le Figaro*, 13-14 November 1982, p. 25; Pierre Pachet's article in *La Quinzaine littéraire*, 16 December 1982, p. 25; Eric Roussel's article in *Le Monde*, 26 November 1982, p. 23). The preface is signed by Elie Wiesel.

f. The Testimony of an Actual Survivor of the *Sonderkommandos* (At the Moment of the Gassings, Those People Shut Up In the Coke Bins Were Not Able to See Anything)

The LICRA searched for a survivor of the famous *Sonderkommandos*. There was already Filip Müller who was living in Mannheim (West Germany), at 31 Hochuferstrasse. The LICRA had, by a unanimous vote, awarded to him the Bernard Lecache prize for his book *Three Years in a Gas Chamber at Auschwitz* (French title). Inexplicably, Filip Müller did not make a deposition, either written or oral, for the LICRA. Just at the last moment, as the fateful date was drawing near for the deadline for submitting documents for the trial, the LICRA delivered a meager text of about two pages: the deposition, made before a notary public on 29 September 1980 by one Alter Szmul Fajnzylberg, a retiree living at 37 Avenue Jean Jaurès, in Paris.

For me, this was a case of meeting once more an old acquaintance. In 1972, in the special issue of the *Hefte von Auschwitz* that I mentioned above, the Poles had published (pp. 32-71) in German the deposition made by Fajnzylberg, a militant Communist, in a Polish court on 13 April 1945. At that time his name was Stanislas Jankowski. That former waiter, a Jew, an atheist, and a Communist, had been a member of the International Brigades in Spain. At the end of the Spanish Civil War, he was interned by the French in the camps at Gurs and Saint-Cyprien. He then worked for the Germans in the occupied zone of France. He was arrested by the French police and interned at Drancy and Compiègne. He was deported to Auschwitz, where he arrived on 27 March 1942. He left Auschwitz with the majority of the inmates, under the supervision of the Germans, on 18 January 1945. He then took flight. That, at least, is his story.

Jankowski, alias Fajnzylberg, therefore remained at Auschwitz for nearly three years. Up until October of 1942 he was employed as a carpenter, which had been his original profession. He also spent five weeks in the camp hospital. From November of 1942 until June of 1943, he was employed in the crematory building of Auschwitz-I, called Krema-I. From July of 1942 until January 17 of 1945, he was employed in the building at Birkenau called Krema-V. Therefore we have here a rare bird: one of those famous members of the *Sonderkommandos*.* His experience was extensive, since he had lasted more than two years in that terrible job. We know that, according to one legend, it was the Jews themselves who were obliged by the SS to welcome the victims, to make them disrobe, to make them enter the gas chamber, and to shut them up inside. Then the SS introduced the gas by a process about which the narrators of the gas chamber saga have never been able to agree. Finally, members of the *Sonderkommando* came to re-open the door or doors, and the rest is known. Another legend has it that the SS regularly—every three months, it seems—liquidated the members of the *Sonderkommando*. As a matter of fact, as Fajnzylberg tells us, each time that the Germans wanted to gas some people, they took care to *shut up the members of the Sonderkommando in the coke bin*, before the arrival of the future victims. In Krema-I of Auschwitz, the members of the *Sonderkommando* were shut up in the small coke bin and in Krema-V at Birkenau in the large coke bin of the large Krema. In other words, for more than two years our rare bird (the best witness that the LICRA was able to find anywhere) spent a large part of his time in a coke bin near a pile of coke. Then, he tells us, the SS, who had done this in order to conceal the crime, re-opened the door of the coke bin so that Fajnzylberg and his companions could take care of the bodies in the gas chamber.

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*As Mark Weber told me, the right translation in English should probably be

The Germans were never idle. If we are to believe our man, the Germans in this way gassed two million persons in two years in the crematories and the "bunkers" at Birkenau. In July of 1944 they supposedly killed an average of 18,000 Hungarian Jews each day. I suppose that in order to burn about 18,000 bodies they would have needed, at the rate of 40 kilograms of coke per body, about 720,000 kilograms of coke per day, which ought not to have allowed much room in the coke bins for shutting up Fajnzylberg and his companions. In fact, how many could there have been to deal with 18,000 bodies a day?

In 1980, Jankowski-Fajnzylberg repeated that story about being shut up in the coke bins. But between 1945 and 1980, his memory must have improved. In fact, in 1980 he added a detail that we are surprised he did not give in 1945. One day, one time, in Krema-V, he was able to see, he stated,

> the release of a gas by an SS-man who poured the contents of a round, black metal can, about 12 to 15 centimeters in diameter and about 25 centimeters high, into a kind of small chimney or tube which extended a few dozen centimeters out of the roof of the gas

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"Special Detail," *i.e.* "Garbage Collectors." Krema-II and -III in Birkenau had a *Müllverbrennungsofen* (furnace to burn garbage). The people of the *Sonderkommandos* were at the same time in charge of collecting and burning the garbage and the cadavers. Filip Müller was nothing more than a kind of garbage collector.

> chamber. The SS-man was wearing a gas mask. He immediately closed up again the opening through which he had poured the contents of the can.

There is only one unfortunate thing about this witness: according to the legend, there was no gas chamber at Krema-V, but two small rooms and one corridor, which might make for three small gas chambers. As regards the gas, the version believed today is that for Krema-IV and V it was poured through some transom-windows located just below a roof which an SS-man reached each time from the outside by ladder.

II. The Penal Suit Brought by Poliakov (the Gerstein and Baron von Otter Case)

On page 119 of my *Mémoire en defense contre ceux qui m'accusent de falsifier l'histoire* I mentioned Léon Poliakov among those who had manipulated the original text of the notebooks of Professor Johann Paul Kremer. Recalling also the extraordinary manipulations and fabrications of texts to which the same Poliakov had devoted himself beginning with the confessions of Kurt Gerstein (of which Paul Rassinier had given us only a few examples), I wrote this sentence:

> Conscious of the seriousness of my accusation, I state that I am in a position to prove that Léon Poliakov is a manipulator of texts and even a forger of texts.

As I wrote those words, I thought that I risked being prosecuted for libel. In fact, libel must be carefully distinguished from lying or calumny. To libel is to cast a slur upon someone's reputation. In France, one may libel someone by accusing him of a verifiable fact. I thought that Poliakov would not lodge a complaint. He was, of course, the first to know how he had fabricated and manipulated the Gerstein texts. However, Léon Poliakov *did* lodge a complaint. The result of the subsequent events leads me to think that he did it under heavy pressure from friends who guaranteed him that they would find a way of keeping him out of the case. French law provides the possibility for the person accused of libel to present an "offer of proof" in the ten days following the complaint.

In less than ten days, I presented an offer of proof: it was a simple table showing, on the one hand, the texts that Gerstein was thought to have written and, on the other hand, the incredible manipulations and fabrications that Léon Poliakov derived from those texts in the course of the years from 1951 to 1979. That was tangible proof; no reply was possible. French law provides that the accuser has five days to respond to the offer of proof. I must state that, not surprisingly, Poliakov did not offer any response to my offer of proof within the time allowed. It was then that Poliakov and his friends perfected a stratagem which even today still evokes my admiration. They knew that before the 17th Correctional Chamber in Paris, especially before Judge Cabié, it is always good to plead that one is the victim of anti-Semitism. It seems that, up until these last few years, that chamber issued convictions for anti-Semitism the way one issues convictions for drunken driving. Poliakov was going to play that card with the help of his pal Pierre Vidal-Naquet, who came to the court to denounce me an an anti-Semite from the very beginning. Poliakov had fabricated, for his part, an almost unreadable photocopy of a Gerstein text to prove that it had been very difficult for him to decipher the text thus his conjectures and his possible errors, he said. But I have not yet come to the strategy itself. The lawyers asserted that the one whom I had wanted to attack was not Léon Poliakov but, through Poliakov, Gerstein himself! But Gerstein was a saint! Witnesses from the Netherlands, Switzerland or Sweden would testify to that fact. Poliakov's lawyers had decided to organize their entire defense around this point: Kurt Gerstein had really existed; he had been a spy for God; his testimony embarrasses Mr. Faurisson; Mr. Faurisson libels Gerstein through the person of a great and honorable man: Léon Poliakov, former Director of Studies at the CNRS, the National Center for Scientific Research.

So it was that during that strange trial our own disputes on the texts would take on the appearance of trifles in comparison to the parade of witnesses like Baron von Otter who came to say that they had known Gerstein during the war and that he had told them frightening stories about the German concentration camps. My lawyer made one serious mistake. He believed that he would be able to deal with that tactic with a shrug of the shoulders. To him, the judges could not be dupes of such a maneuver. Baron von Otter and the other witnesses were not specialists in Poliakov's texts and consequently my lawyer did not want to ask the simplest question of the witnesses, not even this one: "Do you have any idea of what is at issue here? Do you know for what precise reasons Mr. Faurisson is criticizing Mr. Poliakov? Do you realize that the person of Gerstein is not at issue and does not interest us here? Do you think that you have any competence regarding the various versions that Mr. Poliakov has given of the various confessions of Gerstein?" I insisted in vain; my lawyer did not wish to break his silence. It must be said in his defense that he knew very well the specific subject of the trial—the texts of Gerstein and Poliakov—but that he was almost completely ignorant about Gerstein, Pfannenstiel, the camp at Belzec and Baron von Otter. If I had had the right to speak, here is how I would have proceeded to beat the opposing side at its own game. I would first have said to each of the witnesses that I believed in his sincerity. Yes, each of them could have met Gerstein during the war. Yes, Gerstein had told some terrible stories. But had those people taken those stories seriously? I don't think they did. If those people had taken seriously these absolutely sensational revelations, they would have reported them either, in the case of Baron von Otter, to his hierarchical superiors in Stockholm or, in the case of the other witnesses, to their resistance movements. But it seems clear today that no one is capable of showing a report of that kind, either, as I tend to think, because those reports were never written—or else because they were written but were not presentable at the trial since Gerstein was described in them as the author of unbelievable stories. Besides, we do not have any document or any writing by Kurt Gerstein about Belzec which was supposedly delivered to anyone in the neutral countries or in the resistance movements. However, Gerstein traveled a great deal during the war in Germany and in other countries, and nothing prevented him from dictating a report or mailing a letter, even anonymously. I have a hypothesis to suggest regarding von Otter and the others: during the war, no one could have believed the awful things recounted by Gerstein for one simple reason—those awful things were unbelievable. They were and they still are totally grotesque for anyone who reads them with a minimum of attention. But, after the war, von Otter and the others probably began to believe what Gerstein told them. I imagine that in the hysterical atmosphere that accompanied what is called the discovery of the alleged extermination camps, Baron von Otter was seized by a moment of retrospective fear. He recalled SS-man Gerstein and his raving stories. Von Otter must have said to himself that he had behaved unpardonably with regard to Gerstein. It was for that reason that he set out in quest of Kurt Gerstein after the war and, caught up in this game since 1945, set himself up, whether he liked it or not, as the defender of Saint Gerstein. Goran von Otter must suffer from what I call the Sean McBride complex. During the war, Sean McBride, the founder of Amnesty International, did not want to believe the tales of horror, but after the war he began to believe in them more strongly since he had at first been skeptical. In *Le Monde* on 13 February 1982, on page 2, under the title "Avertissement" ("Warning"), Sean McBride wrote the following:

> In the midst of the Second World War, I maintained very friendly relations with the American Ambassador to Ireland, David Gray, a close friend of Roosevelt. One day I saw him looking perplexed. "I have received from the State Department," he told me, "some troubling documents which report a policy of extermination carried

> out by the Nazis in camps specially fitted out for that purpose." I looked at the papers that he was in possession of and, what is obviously the most atrocious thing, I must admit, is that they did not appear very convincing to me. My attempts to obtain more detail, then to alert public opinion, ran up against indifference and skepticism. That has remained fundamental for me: the most monstrous genocide in the history of the human race could develop for five years in the most total ignorance.

Let me say in passing that Sean McBride's last sentence testifies to blindness: how can McBride believe that, if the most monstrous genocide in the history of the human race had developed for five years on a continental scale, it could have gone completely unnoticed? McBride ought to read the story about the elephant that Dr. Butz told us in his lecture last year (*The Journal of Historical Review,* Winter 1982, pp. 371-405, "Context and Perspective in the Holocaust Controversy," page 398). McBride imagines that he was lacking in clear-sightedness during the war and that his eyes were opened after the war, when it was just the opposite that took place: during the war he had been free and therefore clear-sighted in his judgment, while after the war his judgment could no longer resist the pressure of the most fantastic propaganda that humanity has ever known. This is somewhat the same way it was after the war when some Nazi generals or dignitaries struck their foreheads—and beat their breasts—and thought: "Now I see clearly, my eyes are open, my ears are unstopped. Now that it has been explained to me, I understand what Himmler said in Posen and what Hitler said in Berlin."

For my part, I do not doubt the sincerity of Hans Frank, Baldur von Schirach, SS General Karl Wolff, nor that of Baron von Otter or of Sean McBride. As regards Albert Speer, let me be a little more skeptical. One detail about him: a South African Jewish organization got his collaboration in having the brochure *Did Six Million Really Die?* banned in South Africa. In the book written in reply, entitled *Six Million Did Die; The Truth Shall Prevail* (by Arthur Suzman and Denis Diamond, second edition, Johannesburg, 1978, xii + 138pp.), we find the facsimile of the original affidavit in German by Albert Speer (pp. 109-112) wherein he declares at the end:

> Meine Hauptschuld sehe ich immer noch in der Billigung des Judenverfolgungen und der Morde an Millionen von ihnen." ("I still see my main guilt in my having approved of the persecution of the Jews and of the murder of millions of them.")

That is what Albert Speer wrote on 15 June 1977. But in a book that appeared two years later, (*Technik und Macht,* Munich, Bechtle Verlag, 1979, reprinted in a paperback edition by Ullstein

Verlag in 1981, 184pp.), he reproduced that affidavit (pp. 73-75) with a footnote after the word "Billigung" ("Approval") which says:

> Billigung durch Wegsehen, nicht durch Kenntnis eines Befehls oder der Durchfuehrung. Das erstere ist so schwerwiegend wie das zweite." ("Approval by looking away, not by knowledge of an order or its carrying out. The first is as serious as the second.)

Speer spoke in his *Spandau Diary* about his tendency to self-accusation ("meine Selbstbezichtigungen," *Spandauer Tagebücher*, Ullstein Verlag, 1975, p. 432). One could say that that tendency is very widespread in what Heinrich Härtle has called the Germany of "national-masochism" (*Klüter Blätter*, December 1982, p. 28, " 'Holocaust' und kein Ende").

In the Poliakov trial, the judges themselves were led to believe, in their own words, that "the testimony of Gerstein about the functioning of the Nazi camps is essential." That is a sentence which would be hard to understand for anyone who knows anything about the Gerstein case. Starting there, and faced with the parade of other witnesses, what weight could be given to our technical demonstration about Poliakov's manipulations and fabrications? However, we had on our side an excellent witness who is presently preparing a thesis on the various confessions of Gerstein and who was able to prove, texts in hand, that Poliakov was a forger and a manipulator. A waste of effort. I was convicted of libel; the judgment must be published, at my expense; it has not been, and I think that Poliakov will never ask for its publication. That judgment in fact contains some passages that would be embarrassing for a former Director of Research at the CNRS. We know that Poliakov, finding that according to Gerstein the gas chamber at Belzec had an area of 25 square meters for 700 to 800 people (which means 28 to 32 persons standing on each square meter), had calmly removed the reference to 25 square meters and replaced it with that of 93 square meters; in the verdict the judges said that it "is not explained how Mr. Poliakov can fix the area of the gas chamber at 93 square meters." The court went so far as to say: "There is an error there that could indeed be at fault." And it added: "Other errors could have been made" and, finally, it said that Mr. Poliakov could, on some points of detail, have infringed upon scholarly exactitude." But for the court all that was annoying without being serious and I did not have the right to treat Mr. Poliakov as I had done. In fact, what counted in the eyes of the court was that Mr. Poliakov

> had been motivated by a passionate and legitimate desire to inform the public about a period and some particularly tragic facts of contemporary history.

The Poliakov case went on to be appealed to the highest level without any different result. For reasons of health I was not able to attend those hearings. The texts of the verdicts of the Court of Appeals and of the Supreme Court of Appeals are extremely short and prove that those judicial bodies did not at all take up again the examination of the case in the sense in which it ought to have been presented, that is in a purely technical sense and in the following form: "Here, on the one hand, is what we read in the texts of Gerstein, and there, on the other hand, is what Poliakov claims to have read; how are these differences explained? And how, on the other hand, can one explain that Poliakov himself for nearly thirty years had dared to present under such different forms texts that are supposed to be identical?"

I am awaiting with curiosity the reaction of Mr. Poliakov and his friends when the thesis about which I spoke earlier is defended and then published. The researcher in question has made some very interesting discoveries about the writings of Gerstein. I would advise amateurs not to write anything about Gerstein before the publication of that thesis, which will be very technical. The Gerstein case appears more and more like the tale of a fool. The story of the Gerstein confessions is hard enough to untangle without having to deal with dishonest reproductions of those confessions.

III. The Penal Suit Against My French Sixty Word Summary (The Historical Lie: Beneficiaries and Victims)

As the civil case that I have just discussed was unfolding, some serious events occurred for Pierre Guillaume, for his friends and for me. For four years our opponents conducted a whole series of operations (physical and otherwise) against us which were so trying for our health and for our nerves that we were barely able to respond to them. The press especially overflowed with an unbelievable flood of hatred. It was hysteria by repetition. Noam Chomsky had stepped into the case, albeit in a very mild way. Jean Pierre-Bloch, president of the LICRA, on 16 December 1980, talked about the case over the air on Radio-Europe-1. He was welcomed by his friend Ivan Levaï, the host of a broadcast called "Explain Yourself . . ." From the very beginning, Jean Pierre-Bloch devoted himself to violent attacks against us. He declared that the case was costing the LICRA considerable sums of money. On the other hand, he claimed that I was being paid by Colonel Qaddafi and that my works were being translated into every language in the world: he claimed he had on his desk some Chinese translations of my works! He treated me, of course, as a forger. Ivan

Levaï, for his part, said that the help that Noam Chomsky had brought me was "a kiss for a leper"; "Noam Chomsky," he explained, "the grandson of a rabbi and himself Jewish, wanted to 'embrace his own death'." Thanks to the skillful maneuvering of my publisher, Pierre Guillaume, I was able to appear the next day on the same program on the same radio station. Ivan Levaï, extremely excited, constantly cut off my remarks. It was then that I made an important decision: since for once I had the right to speak for several minutes, I decided to use that time to utter a long sentence of sixty words that I had for a long time had in my mind and that summed up the substance of my thought on the whole question of the gas chambers and the genocide.

If I had formerly studied the question of the gas chambers so much, it was obviously not because of a morbid curiosity about the subject. The gas chamber—the magical gas chamber—is the keystone of an immense structure: the lie of the Holocaust. I became interested in that keystone because it was the best point at which to attack that immense structure. I think that I can say that now, in French scholarly circles, people hardly believe in the gas chambers anymore. To borrow a turn of phrase by Céline in 1950, at the end of his reading of Paul Rassinier's *Lie of Ulysses*, "It was all the gas chamber! It allowed EVERYTHING!" (*Le Bulletin Célinien*, a quarterly publication available through Post Box 70, 1000 Brussels 22, Issue No. 4, fourth quarter 1982, "Céline devant le mensonge du siècle" (continuation), by Robert Faurisson, pp. 5-6). Today, the keystone of the Holocaust is crumbling and, as a result, the immense structure is in danger. The gas chamber is the weapon used in the crime. The genocide is the crime. Both form one and the same historical lie. If there is a lie, it is necessary to say who are the beneficiaries and who are the victims. In our century, everything is rapidly becoming a question of money and of politics; it is therefore necessary to say whether that lie has opened the way to a political-financial swindle and what kind of swindle it is.

It doesn't take very long to realize that the case of the Holocaust is principally used by the State of Israel. It is the founding myth of that country and the number one weapon in its propaganda arsenal. I do not blame Israel for that; I am making a statement. I am not naive enough to forget that all countries are founded in part on crimes, blood, expropriation, injustice, force, myth and lies. Here I am pointing out the founding myth of the State of Israel; that does not mean to say that I am hostile to that country and to its citizens. To the contrary, I am establishing the evil that that big lie does to the German people and that it has allowed to be done to the Palestinian people, and I am very much obliged to state that Germany, shorn of a third of its territory, cut into two parts, occupied by four armies, has leaders who are apparently obliged to practice *Realpolitik*: so it is that the voices of the leaders of West Germany echo the voice of their "liberators" from the West and the voices of the leaders of East Germany echo the voice of their "liberators" from the East. That is what I wanted to sum up in my sixty word sentence that, on the radio, I prefaced with the following warning:

> Be careful! None of these words is inspired in me by any political sympathy or antipathy!

Here is the sentence that I have since so often heard read before courts, in extreme silence and attention:

> The alleged Hitlerite gas chambers and the alleged genocide of the Jews form one and the same historical lie, which opened the way to a gigantic political-financial swindle, the principal beneficiaries of which are the State of Israel and international Zionism, and the principal victims of which are the German people—*but not its leaders*—and the entire Palestinian people.

I knew in advance that that sentence would be the object of all sorts of misunderstandings, sincere or feigned. In any case, I know which part of it is the most sacrilegious and the most terrible to hear: it is the part in which I distinguish between the mass of the German people and its leaders. It seems that I have opened a Pandora's box. Many newspapers censored the four words "*but not its leaders.*" Gitta Sereny did it by breaking into my sentence at that point and replacing the four words with an ellipsis. Having reached that place in my sentence, I suppose that, if she had been a Christian, she would have made the sign of the cross (see the above-mentioned article from the *New Statesman*, p. 17). In the above-mentioned article in *Searchlight*, the four words were completely suppressed (p. 12).

Economic motives were never at the origin of the big lie. That lie might not have resulted in any such financial swindle, but it happens that it did. Here I particularly single out the Zionist Nahum Goldmann and the Israeli David Ben Gurion. I challenge any decent man to retain his composure while reading the interview in which Nahum Goldmann told in the *Nouvel-Observateur* (no. 624, 25-29 October 1976, pp. 120 and following) about how he had succeeded in extorting from a paralyzed Adenauer the massive reparations in the so-called Luxembourg Agreement. This is a racket in the grand style; it is the height of poker bluffing, all on the basis of prefabricated sentimentality.*

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*On 18 August 1981, the same Nahum Goldmann declared in regard to the "compensations" paid to Israel:

> Those are astronomical sums from the point of view of Jewish history and were very important for the development of Israel. The Israel of today

The secondary beneficiaries of that entire affair are all of the winners of the Second World War; as a matter of fact, if the homicidal gas chambers of the Germans had not existed, the "war crime" par excellence would have been the gigantic crematoria for the living in Dresden, or Hiroshima, or the Katyn massacre.

The secondary victims are the Vatican and the International Committee of the Red Cross, both accused by the exterminationists of not having seen and denounced the gas chambers and the genocide. As regards the secondary victims, it is proper to underscore the fact that young Jews are also, in a way, the victims of that gloomy and aberrational religion of the Holocaust.

After hearing about the sixty word sentence, the LICRA, the MRAP, and the Association of Former Deportees of Auschwitz filed a complaint for racial defamation (which is not very serious) and a complaint for incitement to racial hatred (which is serious). I was not able to attend the lower court trial before the same 17th Correctional Chamber (Judge: M. Cabié). It took place in a detestable atmosphere. Here I must give special thanks to Claude Karnoouh and Jacob Assous, both treated as renegades by their fellow Jews. Both went considerably further than Jean-Gabriel Cohn-Bendit in their support for the revisionist thesis. Claude Karnoouh, a member of the CNRS, spoke before the tribunal about the "revolution" in historical research caused by the revisionist discoveries, and Jacob Assous declared, for his part, that he no longer believed either in the gas chambers or the genocide. Some painful scenes took place. The tribunal rendered a verdict which will remain in the annals of French jurisprudence. I was condemned for two reasons: racial defamation and incitement to racial hatred, and that was done two times on each count because the trial was a double one (on one side the LICRA and on the other the MRAP and the Auschwitz Association). They condemned me to three months suspended prison sentence (which was not serious), to pay a fine (which is common), to pay for inserting the verdict into the press (which is a ritual), but also—a fact unprecedented in France—to pay for time to read the verdict on radio and television during prime time. At that time (that is to say, when the dollar was worth around six francs) the cost would have come to the astronomical sum (for me) of 3,600,000 francs ($600,000). To its credit, one French newspaper reacted very strongly to that avalanche of trials, convictions and fines: the leftist newspaper *Libération*. Most newspapers, no doubt embarrassed at having to report such news, hid the fact that the Court

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would have been impossible without the German reparations. ("Profil: Nahum Goldmann," an interview of Nahum Goldmann by J.F. Chauvel, telecast by the first French television network from 10:00 to 10:52 PM on 18 August 1981) had established a new penalty: those costly readings of a verdict on radio and television.

During the appeal of the case, I was able to attend the trial and to explain myself. My two lawyers were Mr. Eric Delcroix and Mr. Jean-Louis Tixier-Vignancour. An unexpected thing happened: the Court of Appeals reaffirmed the suspended sentence of three months in prison but it eliminated the charge of incitement to racial hatred. Above all, it eliminated any question of publication of the verdict, even in the press (I think that it had noted that the newspapers, the radio and the television had already made enough fuss about my convictions). For the first time in those years of struggle, I believed that I had found a little breathing room. So, by that verdict in one case on 23 June 1982, I learned that I would not have to pay 3,600,000 francs. It was ten months later, on 26 April 1983, that I learned another piece of good news: the verdict in the civil case, which declared with regard to me: "This being the case, no one can convict him of lying (. . .)." There is no doubt that in the two cases, as in the Poliakov case, I was convicted, but by the time the entire complex of cases reached its end, through the process of appeal, the judgment of the courts as a whole, in the broad context of the issues, had softened and been watered down considerably.

IV. Some Events Surrounding the Three Trials

In the course of the years 1981, 1982 and 1983, my convictions continued to be mitigated to a considerable extent, to the point of causing confusion in the LICRA and among the exterminationists. The first chamber of the Court of Appeals had almost ended up saying: "The revisionists are right to deny the existence of the gas chambers and to refuse to believe testimonies to the contrary." Confining myself strictly to what the Court of Appeals decided on 26 April 1983, I think that I can say that that verdict, considered authoritative, allowed two things to be said:

> 1. It no longer seems permissible in France to treat us, as has been done on all sides for more than four years, as liars, forgers, falsifiers, or even to accuse us of bad faith, lack of seriousness, negligence and deliberate ignorance;
> 2. It seems permissible henceforth, basing oneself on revisionist works, to say that the Germans' homicidal gas chambers had no existence in reality and to be suspicious of all the testimonies given to the contrary for forty years; however, those opinions contrary to the official truth can be expressed on condition that one shows, even better than I have done, respect for the victims of the persecutions and the deportations, and on condition of taking care, even more care than I have exercised, not to appear insulting or offensive to anyone.

I do not know to what to attribute that favorable evolution on the part of the French courts. I would gladly believe that we are partly indebted for it to the political actions of Menachem Begin, Yitzhak Shamir, and Ariel Sharon, as they have been perceived in France and the rest of the world. There are also the crises of collective delirium that the press and the public authorities have unleashed or have allowed to be unleashed in France in connection with the showing of the docudrama *Holocaust*, the attack on the synagogue on Rue Copernic, the attack on a Jewish restaurant on the Rue des Rosiers, the Maurice Papon case, the Barbie case or the case of the Hitler diaries. According to the phrase of Dominique Jamet, an editorial writer with the newspaper *Le Quotidien de Paris* (a publication which nevertheless tends to see anti-Semites nearly everywhere), the French may have ended up after all this with the impression that the Zionists were trying to "cash blank checks on the Holocaust."

But on the very subject of the gas chambers and the genocide there is in France an obvious doubt in peoples' minds about the official doctrine. That doubt has expressed itself in the following ways:

1. Pierre Vidal-Naquet Publishes "Un Eichmann de papier"; I Publish My Réponse à Pierre Vidal-Naquet

In 1980, Pierre Vidal-Naquet made the mistake of attacking me in an amateurish work entitled: "Un Eichmann de papier" (in the review *Esprit*, September 1980, pp. 8-52, with an addendum by Pitch Bloch, pp. 53-56; all of which was reprinted with some changes and additions in a book by Pierre Vidal-Naquet: *Les Juifs, la mémoire et le présent*, Petite Collection Maspero, 1981, 302pp, pp. 193-289). I answered that publication in my *Réponse à Pierre Vidal-Naquet* (second edition, expanded, La Vieille Taupe, 1982, 96pp). Putting aside all questions of polemics, it is interesting to note the extent to which Vidal-Naquet had to make concessions to historical revisionism: on the diary of Anne Frank, the authenticity of which he no longer accepts; on the confessions wrung out of the Nazis; on Pery Broad; on the Nuremberg trial; on the false testimonies and deceptions concerning the gas chambers, etc.

2. Georges Wellers Publishes Les Chambres à gaz ont existé

In 1981, Georges Wellers published a book entitled *Les Chambres à gaz ont existé/Des documents, des témoignages, des chiffres*, Gallimard, 1981, 229pp. That book was very helpful to our cause, first by its very title, and then by its content. It was devoted to Auschwitz. The author did not dare to include a single photo of the gas chamber that can be visited at Auschwitz-I, nor a photo of the ruins of gas chambers at Auschwitz-Birkenau, nor a photo of the various reconstructions and models at the State Museum of Auschwitz. On the other hand, he did furnish photos of crematory plans. He did not dare to produce a single one of the numerous photos that we have of the crematory buildings themselves. He has mutilated some texts and has fabricated some translations. I always recommend his book to those who believe that the gas chambers existed. I did not answer this book.

3. Even in Le Monde Juif *Exterminationism Is Beating a Retreat*

Georges Wellers worsened his case in the following year. Faced with the progress made by the revisionists he seems to have panicked. He began to beat a retreat in a sudden and disconcerting way. In the review he edits he wrote the preface to a long, dull study, the thesis of which, surprisingly, was the following: after looking at the plans for Krema-IV and Krema-V at Auschwitz-Birkenau and after looking at the physical reconstructions that we are able to make on the basis of the ruins, it is indeed necessary to bow to the facts: those buildings were conceived and constructed as common crematories not containing homicidal gas chambers. However, since there are testimonies which say those buildings were used for gassing and then cremating thousands of people, it must be that the Germans afterward went on to make alterations; however, said the author, it must be admitted that all of that indicates hasty improvisation and tinkering on the part of the Germans (*Le Monde Juif*, No. 107, July-September 1982, "Les 'Krematorien' IV et V de Birkenau et leurs chambres à gaz, construction et fonctionnement," by Jean-Claude Pressac, pp. 91-131). It is in that study that it appeared that the only references to or the only physical traces of gas chambers found at Auschwitz relate to disinfection gas chambers.

4. 21 April 1982: The Exterminationists Establish an Association for Research of the Proofs of Gassings

Nothing better shows the evolution of the situation than the fact that I am going to report now. You will remember the famous declaration by 34 historians in *Le Monde* on 21 February 1979. Vidal-Naquet and Poliakov had organized it. In that declaration it was said that the genocide was a self-evident truth and that it was not necessary to ask oneself how such a mass murder was technically possible.

> It is not necessary to ask how, *technically*, such a mass murder was possible. It was technically possible since it took place. Such is

> the necessary point of departure for any historical inquiry on this subject. It is our job simply to recall that truth: there is not, there cannot be, any debate on the existence of the gas chambers.

It is about that memorable declaration, coming from 34 historians (of whom only one, Léon Poliakov, was a specialist in the period being considered) that Lucy S. Davidowicz thought that it "could well serve as a guide to American historians" (Keith Stimely, "A Note From the Editor, *The Journal of Historical Review*, Spring 1984, p. 6).

Vidal-Naquet has personally contradicted that statement three times by his own actions. First, by inviting the signers to set to work on the question of the gas chambers. Unintentionally and ingenuously he had to recognize that in the above mentioned book, *Les Juifs, la mémoire et le présent*, which came off the press in January of 1981. There we read, on page 196:

> A good number of historians signed the declaration published in *Le Monde* on February 21, 1979, but very few set to work, one of the rare exceptions being F. Delpech.

Then he contradicted himself by publishing "Un Eichmann de papier." But, most of all, he reached the summit of contradiction on 21 April 1982. On that day a strange organization deposited its by-laws at the Prefecture of Police in Paris: the ASSAG (Association for the Study of Killings by Gas Under the National-Socialist Regime). That association assigned itself the task, in its own words, of:

> searching for and verifying data offering proof of the use of poison gasses by the authorities of the National Socialist regime in Europe in order to kill persons of various nationalities; to contribute to the publication of those pieces of proof; to make all useful contacts for that purpose on national and international levels (in particular with the international work group inspired by Hermann Langbein).

Among the members of that association are Pierre Vidal-Naquet, Georges Wellers, Bernard Jouanneau, Geneviève de Gaulle-Anthonioz, Germaine Tillion; the chief of cabinet of the Veterans Ministry, a member of the Ministry of Culture, a former member of the Ministry of the Interior, the director of Documentation Francaise and several other celebrities. The director of the association is Mrs. Postel-Vinay, who lives at 7 Place Pinel in Paris 75013. The ASSAG will be dissolved when it has finished its work. According to the latest news, it has become a sort of secret organization; it is trying to hide; if someone asks about its work, Mrs. Postel-Vinay answers that the ASSAG is "in a period of reflection."

5. *A Large Official Anti-Revisionist Exhibition; A Revisionist Leaflet Denounced the Hoaxes In It; the Continuation of the Exhibition is Cancelled*

At the same time the Veterans Ministry undertook an operation and announced with great fanfare its intention to respond to the "banalization of Nazism." That expression, which seems to have been coined by Simone Veil, seems first to have the following meaning: people today tend to make of Nazism a commonplace, banal phenomenon by minimizing its horrors which supposedly were without precedent in the history of mankind. But that expression is also used to avoid the word "negation" (negation of the Holocaust). Alain Finkielkraut published an attack on revisionism entitled: *L'Avenir d'une négation* (I am not able to talk about that book; I do not understand Mr. Finkielkraut's philosophical language). The vast and costly operation undertaken by the Veterans Ministry and, in particular, by one Miss Jacobs, was an exhibition on the deportation. Set up on the Place du Trocadéro in Paris, near the Eiffel Tower, it was scheduled later to tour all the large cities in France. It was with great interest that I visited that exhibition, which had very sophisticated techniques at its disposal. I discovered some beautiful hoaxes in it. With Pierre Guillaume I wrote a leaflet that described those hoaxes. Only a few leaflets could be distributed (secretly, because of the presence of the police). The result was not long in coming. When it closed, the exhibition was transferred to a city in the west of France (the Veterans Ministry did not have the time to cancel the plans that had been made), but after that the costly exhibition disappeared completely from the circuit. It has probably been put back into the furniture warehouses of the Veterans Ministry. Miss Jacobs officially answers that the exhibition is undergoing slight alterations; the date for the completion of those alterations is not foreseeable, she adds.

6. *An International Colloquium at the Sorbonne With an Anti-Revisionist Slant Ends With a Recognition of Failure*

The anti-revisionist offensive was to reach its high point with the international colloquium on "Nazi Germany and the Extermination of the Jews." The colloquium was held at the Sorbonne under the aegis of the Sorbonne, the School of Higher Research in the Social Sciences, and the Judaism Foundation, from 29 June to 2 July of 1982. Vidal-Naquet, Professor of the History of Antiquity in the School of Higher Research in the Social Sciences, was the animating force of the colloquium. It was presided over by Raymond Aron and Francois Furet, both of Jewish origin as were Vidal-Naquet himself and a good share of the participants. I asked to participate in that colloquium or to attend on condition, if necessary, of my not saying anything. Francois Furet refused me even that silent presence since he had read some of our works, since he knew that I denied the existence of the crematoria (*sic*), and since I was considered an impostor by the scholarly community. I wasted my time reminding him that the best way of unmasking an impostor was to make him come to explain himself in public. Furet maintained his refusal. Raymond Aron, a very shrewd man, told me: "You understand, there are some truths which are established forever." The colloquium was held amidst astonishing police measures, and individual searches were conducted by young people from the Judaism Foundation. In spite of all this, Pierre Guillaume and I succeeded in making a brief raid into the hall, staying long enough to distribute some copies of my *Réponse à Pierre Vidal-Naquet* (a booklet that had just appeared), including one for the interested party himself, who believed that I had died. The security guards on this "vigil," like their masters, had lived for several days, we discovered, obsessed by the possible appearance by those whom they called the "Faurissonians." The colloquium, as we learned by various means, turned into a fiasco and split into factions. First there developed the picturesque split between the "intentionalists" and the "functionalists" on the final solution. That phenomenon of the transformation of historians into metaphysicians proved the decadence of the exterminationist thesis. Vidal-Naquet was insulted and treated as a "Faurissonian"—the supreme insult—since he had written "Un Eichmann de Papier." Raymond Aron and Francois Furet, who basically knew nothing about the history of the alleged genocide, progressively discovered that the exterminationist thesis rested in large part on speculations and calculations rather than on historically established facts. It was arranged that, in order to give more publicity to that colloquium, it would be followed by a press conference. Vidal-Naquet did not appear. Professors Furet and Aron were alone in holding that press conference, which we were able to have tape recorded with their agreement thanks to an Australian friend. It turned out that the two professors had just discovered that "in spite of the most learned research" no one has ever been able to find an order from Hitler to exterminate the Jews. Better yet, "no one has found any personal activity on the part of Hitler in carrying out the policy." Asked about the suits directed against Faurisson, the two professors answered that in their own personal opinion they found those suits absurd and Raymond Aron began the following sentence:

> I find it absurd that some Jewish organizations are making some, some . . . [inaudible]

The context leads one to believe that the missing word was "suits" or some similar term. The two professors went so far as to say that it seemed to them that Vidal-Naquet himself had perhaps been hostile to those suits. But Vidal-Naquet had, in fact, from 1979 to 1982, played the role of a prosecutor or a political commissar in all my trials. Some "generous ministerial subsidies" had been paid out for holding that conference and for the publication, by Gallimard, of a heavy scholarly book (*Bulletin du Centre de Recherches et d'études historiques de la seconde guerre mondiale*, Bruxelles, No. 12, December 1982, an article by José Gotovich, pp. 8-9). But the book has not yet been published.

7. Two Declarations by Raul Hilberg Show His Confusion

Before that colloquium, the French journalist Guy Sitbon, Jewish by background, the permanent correspondent of the *Nouvel-Observateur* in the United States, had an interview with Raul Hilberg. I would like to have that interview published in English. Guy Sitbon works for the weekly publication which most strongly attacked me in 1979, but that experience had been the occasion for me to make contact with certain journalists from *Nouvel-Observateur* and, in particular, with its editor, Jean Daniel. I had an exchange of letters with Jean Daniel which I think aroused his indignation, upset him, and taught him a few things. In his interview with Hilberg, Sitbon did not spare Hilberg and, on the question of the gas chambers, one could say that Sitbon drove him into a corner. It is since reading that interview that the French have been able to realize that Hilberg does not have any argument in favor of the existence of the gas chambers. At least, he was obviously not in a position, in my opinion, to furnish a single one to Sitbon (*Le Nouvel-Observateur*, Le Document de la semaine, "Les Archives de l'horreur," an interview with Raul Hilberg, 3-9 July 1982, pp. 70-73, 75-76). In passing, Hilberg declared with regard to the revisionists:

> I would say that, in a way, Faurisson and others, without having wanted to, have rendered us a service. They have raised some questions which have had the effect of involving historians in new research. They have obliged historians to gather further information, to re-examine documents and to go farther in understanding what took place (page 71).

Another declaration by Hilberg is interesting, but to a lesser degree since the journalist was not as familiar with his subject as was Guy Sitbon. Look at it all the same: *Newsday* (Long Island, New York), 23 February 1983, page II/3, "The Holocaust in Perspective," by George DeWan, where we read this regarding the genocide:

> But what began in 1941 was a process of destruction not planned in advance, not organized centrally by any agency. There was no blueprint and there was no budget for destructive measures. They were taken step by step, one step at a time. Thus there came about not so much a plan being carried out, but an incredible meeting of minds, a consensus—mind reading by a far-flung bureaucracy.

Of course, we would like it if Raul Hilberg would now rewrite his book on the destruction of the European Jews in light of the new vision that he thus gives us. The "step by step" would be interesting to examine, especially the "step" which saw some German bureaucrats decide on the construction of the gas chambers, which, being physical realities, had to be planned, built, and put into operation, with innovating technical studies, large scale and detailed plans, purely technical planning among engineers, architects, doctors who were specialists in toxicology, and military men—not to mention the deliveries of material in war time, the work or inspection missions, an enormous budget, an agreement with the German railroads, with the factories producing coke, with the company of Topf und Söhne, with DEGESCH, DEGUSSA and many other chemical enterprises, and all that, of course, with Draconian measures to assure the secrecy of the preparations (which is perhaps not at all impossible), the secrecy of its functioning (which is terribly difficult), and the disappearance, in case of military defeat followed by an opening of all the archives by the enemy, of the slightest trace of the most tremendous crime of all time (which is humanly impossible). Hilberg has his work cut out for him, even if it were only on the "step" of the gas chambers; he ought to suspend any other research in favor of *that* research.

8. Signs of Progress for Historical Revisionism In France

Edgar Morin, a sociologist with a wide reputation, Jewish by background, wrote the following sentence in his book *Pour Sortir du XXe siècle* (Fernand Nathan, 1981, p. 192):

> It is important, in my opinion, to re-verify the gas chamber in the Nazi camps.

The use of the singular for "the gas chamber" has some importance. Edgar Morin has done specialized studies on the phenomenon of rumors. If he is talking about "*the* gas chamber" it is because for him it is a case of the gas chamber as a (possible) figment of the imagination.

August von Kageneck is a correspondent in Paris for *Die Welt*. In his appearances on French television, he is not soft on the Nazis. But in January of 1983 he published in *Le Quotidien de*

Paris 22 January 1983, p. 4, an article entitled "The Revisionist Danger" in which he wrote:

> Some "revisionists" are making their appearance and are putting into doubt the criminal character of the Nazi regime [. . .]. According to them, there was no plan for exterminating the Jews; their drama (if drama there is, since the death camps are an invention of the Jews) was the result of the war imposed upon Germany. Such arguments are dangerous since they contain a bit of truth [. . .] It would therefore be wise to seriously examine certain of those arguments and to separate the wheat from the chaff.

On 27 April 1983, for the first time, I suppose, a publication in the Arabic language, well edited, published a very carefully done interview with me, accompanied by photos of a real American gas chamber, of a fumigation chamber in Auschwitz, and of the spurious gas chamber at Auschwitz I, under the title: "Professor Faurisson: 'The Nazi Gas Chambers and the Genocide of the Jews: historical lie.' " (the magazine *Kol Al Arab* [*All the Arabs*], No. 35 (27 April 1983), pp. 47-53; offices at 129 Avenue Charles de Gaulle, 92200 Neuilly Sur Seine, France).

On 15 June 1983, *Le Monde*, on page 10, reported that on the occasion of the Barbie affair, Monsignor Albert Decourtray, the Archbishop of Lyon, denounced

> the powerful and disquieting contemporary trend toward "banalizing" Nazism, to which Christians cannot consent.

Revisionism was included in a recent history manual intended for students preparing for the baccalaureat. It is, of course, denounced as a danger. Here are the terms used:

> *Impossible to forget.* —Nearly forty years after the liberation of the camps by the Allies, the "revisionists" continue to deny the genocide and seek to rehabilitate the Nazis, in spite of the numerous testimonies, documents and historical works which attest to the truth of it. It is therefore fitting to recall forcefully that *the Nazi leaders did indeed order, organize and carry out the Holocaust beginning in 1941.* From 1942 on, the entire world had available to it information on the extermination that was underway. The Germans knew: "You must not believe those who claim that they did not know," declared Dr. Frank at the Nuremberg Trial. The neutral countries, the Red Cross, the Churches, the Vatican, the Allies knew, but the "terrible secret" was suppressed up until the Liberation. (*Histoire*, for Final Classes, ABC Editions, 1983, p. 36).

Sometimes journalists seem to feel some embarrassment about using the expression "gas chambers." The journalist André Wurmser in the Communist newspaper *L'Humanité* ("Grandes manoeuvres," 3 May 1983, p. 1), mentions "the crematoria and the torture chambers."

A significant phenomenon, on the part of what is called the extreme right, which makes up about 2% of the French electorate, is that it is emerging from the caution and fear in which it has remained. A quality weekly like *Rivarol* has ended up talking about the revisionists, even making some interesting revelations. In an article entitled "La vérité au compte-gouttes" ("The Truth Piece by Piece"), the eminent critic Robert Poulet wrote:

> I know historians of the first rank, specialists in the period 1933–1945, who declare that for them "it is impossible at present to talk about the basis of their thought, since it would not be acceptable to the public, even the most cultivated." They have taken as their task to "progressively prepare" the public in a few years for an evolution whose outcome they do not know—beyond the lies and the prejudices which fill the newspapers and the libraries. (*Rivarol*, 25 February 1983, p. 11)

Jacques Benoist-Méchin, who recently died, wrote a monumental *Histoire de l'armée allemande*. In 1966 he published the sixth volume, which stopped on the date of 3 September 1939. *Rivarol*, just after the historian's death, published a text by the lawyer Charles Filippi. The latter revealed why Benoist-Méchin said that he had interrupted his work at that date. Here is the answer that he had given in writing to his friend Filippi:

> It is because, for the first time in history, we have arrived at a point where one CAN NOT ANY LONGER write history without making oneself an accomplice of an enormous lie [. . .] Maurice Bardèche was imprisoned for having denounced the mascarade at Nuremberg. Thirty-five years later, it was Professor Faurisson who was not only the object of public loathing, but was even deprived of his teaching position [here Benoist-Méchin is in error] for not accepting the only authorized version of the camps and the gas chambers. Such is the explanation for my silence. (*Rivarol*, "Les Raisons d'un silence," 11 March 1983, p. 9).

Was Benoist-Méchin too pessimistic? A French historian, a very cautious person, has just published in *Le Figaro* (8 July 1983, p. 2) a skillful review of Serge Klarsfeld's recent book on *Vichy et les Juifs* (Fayard, 1983, 544pp). He has subtly unmasked in Klarsfeld a seeker after justice who tries to pass himself off as a historian and whose publisher does not recoil at photographic manipulation, "library subterfuge." That historian, who it happens has committed some serious errors of an exterminationist kind, is Henri Amouroux, the author of a series, as yet incomplete, entitled *La Grande histoire des Francais sous l'occupation* (*The Great History of the French People under German Occupation*) (published by Robert Laffont). But Klarsfeld himself at time follows the revisionist example and begins tentatively to try to verify what he publishes. In *Vichy et les Juifs,* he brings himself to admit that the photos that people claim show the Jews penned up in the Vélodrome d'hiver in 1942 (photos that have gone around the world and are in many books and museums) in reality show some collaborators of the Germans penned up in the Vélodrome d'hiver in 1944! It remains for Klarsfeld to stop cropping the photographs from Drancy to make them appear pitiful. It especially remains for him to eventually bring back to life all the Jews that he has presented as dead in his *Mémorial de la déportation des juifs de France,* without seriously verifying whether they did die.

Even the duo of Michael R. Marrus of the University of Toronto, and Robert O. Paxton of Columbia University, are moving in a revisionist direction. Their recent study on "The Nazis and the Jews in Occupied Western Europe, 1940–1944" (*Journal of Modern History,* the University of Chicago, No. 54 (December 1982), pp. 687-714) leaves the impression that the alleged desire to exterminate the Jews had been a relative failure. They recognized that in France, a country so long occupied by the Germans, only about a fifth of the Jews (French, foreign, stateless, undetermined) were deported, which implies that around four-fifths were not: a strange result for an alleged policy of systematic extermination. With that said, their study still is brimming over with fabrications of war propaganda. For example, when, on page 714 they write that on 24 October 1944

> the death factory in Poland had only days left to function

that can only be an allusion to the order from Himmler to put an end to the extermination of the Jews by gas: a purely mythical order dated precisely on 22 November (or 25 November) 1944. A long time ago historians knew that that order could never have been given (see the notorious thesis by Olga Wormser-Migot, *Le Système concentrationnaire nazi, 1932–1945,* Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1968, p. 13).

A certain courage is beginning to show itself in France. The most spectacular fact in this regard is certainly not lacking in "picturesqueness." The magazine *Lui,* the French equivalent of *Playboy,* which, amidst light articles and nude photos, has the habit of printing interviews with political personalities on serious subjects, has just published a remarkable interview with Léon Degrelle, who, as those familiar with his words will surmise, found some suggestive ways to express his skepticism, if not his total disbelief, regarding the gas chambers (*Lui,* No. 233, June 1983, *passim* between pp. 73 and 178).

This courage is contagious. In a quite different field, Klaus Barbie's lawyer, Jacques Vergès, instead of playing the usual game of lawyers since the Liberation, which consists of not rocking the boat and challenging the proceedings or their bases themselves, has just pointed out that his client is in prison by virtue of a law that does not exist in France. As a matter of fact, it seems that the French Parliament has never voted any law on the so-called crimes "against humanity"; therefore, there does not exist any scale of penalties and Barbie is in prison only by virtue of crimes that he is supposed to have committed "against humanity." It seems that one of the circles that has been most touched by the still modest influence in France of historical revisionism is that of the lawyers and judges in Paris and Lyon.

9. *Increasing Concern for Simone Veil After the 26 April 1983 Verdict; For Her, There are Neither Proofs, Nor Witnesses for the Gas Chambers, Since the Nazis Supposedly Made Everything Disappear*

Simone Veil displays an increasing anxiety about what she calls the "banalization of Nazism." Two weeks after the verdict of the Court of Appeals in Paris on 26 April 1983, *France-Soir Magazine* published (7 May 1983, p. 47) an interview with Simone Veil; the title of it was: "Simone Veil's Warning About the Hitler Diaries: 'We are Taking the Risk of Banalizing Genocide'." Here is how she connected my civil trial to the affair of the Hitler diaries. The connection of the ideas is not very clear but you still see her anxiety:

> What strikes me today is the paradox of the situation: they are publishing a diary attributed to Hitler with a great deal of publicity and money but without taking very great precautions to assure themselves of its authenticity. At the same time, in the course of a trial directed against Faurisson for having denied the existence of the gas chambers, those who have brought the suit are required to bring forward formal proof of the reality of the gas chambers. But everyone knows that the Nazis destroyed those gas chambers and systematically did away with the witnesses.

I would like to make a few remarks about that reaction to the civil trial:

1. "Everyone knows" is not a serious argument;
2. It is paradoxical that Simone Veil, with her legal training, is astonished that an accuser is asked by the French law to try to furnish the proof for his accusation;
3. The lawyers for the other side, among whom was one of Veil's sons, had maintained for four years that there was a mass of proof and an abundance of testimonies about the existence of the gas chambers; we demonstrated the fallacious character of those alleged proofs and testimonies. Would Simone Veil implicitly admit that we were right? Is she becoming a revisionist?
4. The reason that Simone Veil had found for that absence of

proof and witnesses is illusory; it consists, as a matter of fact, in substituting one unproven accusation for another unproven accusation. So my question becomes: where are the proofs that the Germans destroyed those gas chambers and systematically did away with the witnesses?

5. I would be curious to know what Simone Veil thinks now about those places today presented as gas chambers "in their original condition" or even in ruins, and what credence she gives to the innumerable testimonies, written or verbal, beginning with Filip Müller's *Three Years in a Gas Chamber at Auschwitz* (French title)?

6. Finally, and most of all, if there are neither proofs, nor testimonies, where do we find ourselves?

V. Conclusion: The Foreseeable Future. It Is Dark for the Exterminationists and Especially for Elie Wiesel. The Historical Debate May Now Proceed Into the Open Light of Day

In so far as one can foresee the future of a phenomenon that is in the midst of transformation, I would say that the future of the revisionist phenomenon will depend in great part on the international political situation and, in particular, on the situation in the Near East. The State of Israel is now obliged to find a way of dealing with the accelerated crumbling of the myth on which it was founded. We do not yet know whether the parties of the Arab-Islamic world are going to take up the discoveries of historical revisionism. It is certain that in the western countries the uproar made about the Holocaust will continue to grow louder. Still more billions of dollars are going to be devoted to an attempt to drown out the revisionist voices. Burned by the failure of judicial repression in France, the Holocaust lobby is going to hesitate to use that weapon again in a direct way. We must rather expect an uninterrupted series of Hollywood epics of all kinds. I personally am awaiting with curiosity the construction of the Holocaust Memorial in Washington. How are those people going to try to make us believe in the gas chambers? For them France has been a testing ground and they have suffered some serious reversals on all fronts. To take only one example: if the authorities of the Memorial decide to present visitors with some kind of document or photo pretending to establish the existence of a single homicidal gas chamber, it will be easy to show the hoaxes by means of a single leaflet. They will be obliged to beat a retreat at this point as did those in Paris who, with a great deal of money and a hundred official supporters, were forced to give up their exhibition.

We in France have undergone a trial by fire and the revisionist theses have proved their solidity, but we must not hide the negative side of the ledger: the wear and tear on nerves, on health, the losses of money and the considerable loss in time for continuing our research. For two years at least the gas chambers, as Professor Butz has said, have been "overkilled." For two years, I have been forced to waste my time and I no longer feel any intellectual curiosity on that subject.

I want to turn to the following question: "How many Jews died during the last war at the hands of the Germans?" I would undertake that investigation on bases other than those that have up until now generally been used, in particular by Paul Rassinier and Walter N. Sanning.

Finally, we will try to find the means of publishing three books in France: Dr. Butz's *Hoax of the Twentieth Century,* which disturbs Vidal-Naquet very much; Dr. Wilhelm Stäglich's *The Auschwitz Myth*; and finally, the thesis by our Gerstein specialist. The difficulties that we encounter are illustrated by the fact that Dr. Butz's book was supposed to have already been published five years ago, and Dr. Stäglich's book three years ago.

In France the year 1984 will not be boring: an important meeting will take place between Elie Wiesel and Francois Mitterrand, who together, and probably with Max Gallo, will probably organize a vast operation of exterminationist propaganda. Wiesel comes to talk nearly every Sunday to French television viewers. You would think that his thoughts never leave the revisionists. In 1982, he published in French the book *Paroles d'étranger* (Editions du Seuil, 1982, 192pp). On pages 23, 91-94, and 103, he uses the following terms to talk about the revisionists:

> indecent pamphleteers with morally deranged minds; [authors of] pamphlets; pseudo-historians; those hateful and vicious persons; it is to take leave of one's senses; this entire affair arises from lunacy; vulgarity; disgusting ugliness; indecent accusers . . .

Wiesel has settled into a role that he will not give up very soon: that of the professional witness. Applied to him, the word witness is to be taken in a particular sense. The witnesses he claims to have met are also of a special kind. In the same book, he writes about Babi-Yar, the place where the Germans shot some Russians, Jews and non-Jews. For him, Babi-Yar is above all a high point of Jewish martyrdom. There the earth itself, he assures us, found a way to protest against the Jewish blood that had been shed. Thus he writes:

> Later, I learned from a witness that [after a massive execution of Jews], for month after month, the ground never stopped trembling; and that, from time to time, geysers of blood spurted from it (p. 86).

Those words did not slip out of Wiesel in a moment of hallucination. They were first written out in longhand, then verified in printed galley and page proofs and finally published. That's the kind of person who is President of the Presidential Commission on the Holocaust chosen by Jimmy Carter.

Elie Wiesel, if I may be allowed to use a familiar expression, is suffering from a terrible thorn in his foot: the thorn of revisionism. He has tried by every means to rid himself of it. He has not succeeded. He seems less and less hopeful of ridding himself of it. In that respect, he is like the revisionists who do not see any more than Wiesel does how he will get rid of the thorn of revisionism.

In conclusion, the important and lasting point of the events of the last four years in France is not that of the legal vagaries of the cases, the points of law and procedure involved. Not the law, but history—what is to be written, how it is to be written, by whom, and based on what evidence—this was the point at stake, a fact realized quite as well by our opponents as by ourselves. They chose the ground on which this point was to be contested. From the very beginnings of the challenges to their position, they consistently refused to debate this point of history in the open forums usually associated with such a challenge. They refused one-on-one confrontations. They refused even merely to discuss privately and politely the issues with the challengers. They would not defend their position in front of the challengers who would force them to answer questions and take unashamed responsibility for their answers—or lack of answers.

So it was that the issue was brought before the courts.

The exterminationists brought it there, not we.

They sought this situation where the deck was certainly stacked against us.

We had no choice but to fight on those grounds, in the first place because we were literally compelled to do so by legal fiat; in the second place because they simply would not meet us on any other ground. The situation was forced upon us, and we naturally would have wished it otherwise.

But fight we had to, and fight we did. The result: on our opponent's own grounds and with weapons of their choosing, we won. It is a victory to the benefit not so much of the legal precedent, but of the historical record—and the record of how historical conclusions are debated and reached.

If the exterminationists could not win, could not dispose of the problem of the revisionists in a situation in which all the odds were in their favor, how then will they fare in the debate that now proceeds into the open light of day?

APPENDICES

I. My Lawyers' Tactics

In the civil suit, which was brought against me for "damages to another" as the result of an alleged "falsification of history," I was defended by two lawyers of differing opinions: Eric Delcroix, a rightist, and Yvon Chotard, a leftist and friend of Jean-Gabriel Cohn-Bendit. I owe them a great deal. Both of them had to face serious problems in their personal and professional lives after they dared to take up my defense.

In the lower court case, I left it to them to decide how best to defend me. They could use my book *Mémoire en défense contre ceux qui m'accusent de falsifier l'Histoire* as well as a certain number of technical and scientific studies that I had written in response to the arguments of our adversaries. Eric Delcroix's tactics consisted of using all of that documentation, with which he had become completely familiar, in order to defend the following idea: a court is not competent to rule on a historical question. Yvon Chotard did not want to get into the technical debate but just to develop the following argument: even if Professor Faurisson is wrong, the court must protect his right to free expression.

When the cases came up for appeal, I asked my two lawyers to adopt a more aggressive stance and to take as their approach the following sentence: "Professor Faurisson says that gas chambers and genocide did not exist for the good and simple reason that gas chambers and genocide did not exist."

Eric Delcroix was in agreement, but Yvon Chotard refused. I think that Yvon Chotard was not sure of my honesty and that as a result of hearing my adversaries treat me as a falsifier he asked himself whether I actually was one. Yvon Chotard went so far as to send me a study, which he himself had written, of the diary of Professor Johann-Paul Kremer, the man who for several weeks had served as a doctor at Auschwitz. In that study, Yvon Chotard concluded that Kremer had witnessed gassings! I sent his study back to him after I had corrected it like the homework of a student. After long discussions and, in part, thanks to the arguments found by Jean-Gabriel Cohn-Bendit in favor of my interpretation, Yvon Chotard was converted. The result of this turn-about was very important. As a matter of fact, Yvon Chotard went on to develop the revisionist thesis with so much conviction before the Court of Appeals that a lawyer for the opposing party, Mr. Rappaport, could not avoid showing his surprise as he began his plea with the following words:

> You have changed a great deal, Mr. Chotard, since the last time; you have really changed a lot!

The judges on the court thus understood that in the first case, Yvon Chotard had shown his skepticism with regard to the revisionist thesis but that with time he had become convinced of the correctness of that thesis.

I likewise owe a great deal of thanks to my third lawyer, Francois Berthout, who was himself totally convinced of the correctness of the revisionist thesis and knew how to plead the case, sometimes with humor.

II. The Voluntary Intervention of Pierre Guillaume and of His Friends ("La Vieille Taupe") and the Support That I Found Outside France

In France I had to confront such a powerful coalition of diverse interests that without Pierre Guillaume and his friends I would have been overwhelmed. Among his friends I owe a special debt of gratitude to Serge Thion and his wife, to Jacob Assous, Denis Authier, Jean-Gabriel Cohn-Bendit, Maurice Di Scuillo, Jean-Luc Redlinski, Gabor Tamas Rittersporn, Claude Karnoouh, Jean-Louis Tristani, Jose Benhamou, Marc R.; to my former students Cécile D., Dominique M., Jean-Pierre C., and to many other French citizens whose names I cannot mention here. Overseas, I owe a particular debt of gratitude to my Dutch, Belgian, German and Austrian friends. In Australia, I have benefitted from two valuable sources of support, John Bennett and William S. In the United States, I owe a great deal to Dr. Arthur Butz and Mark Weber, not to mention, of course, other members of the Institute for Historical Review. It was Mark Weber who took the initiative of drawing up the following petition which, during a short period of time in 1979, collected 600 signatures:

> DR. ROBERT FAURISSON HAS SERVED AS A RESPECTED PROFESSOR OF TWENTIETH CENTURY FRENCH LITERATURE AND DOCUMENT CRITICISM FOR OVER FOUR YEARS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF LYON-2 IN FRANCE. SINCE 1974 HE HAS BEEN CONDUCTING EXTENSIVE INDEPENDENT RESEARCH INTO THE "HOLOCAUST" QUESTION.
>
> SINCE HE BEGAN MAKING HIS FINDINGS PUBLIC, PROFESSOR FAURISSON HAS BEEN SUBJECT TO A VICIOUS CAMPAIGN OF HARASSMENT, INTIMIDATION, SLANDER AND PHYSICAL VIOLENCE IN A CRUDE ATTEMPT TO SILENCE HIM. FEARFUL OFFICIALS HAVE EVEN TRIED TO STOP HIM FROM FURTHER RESEARCH BY DENYING HIM ACCESS TO PUBLIC LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES.
>
> WE STRONGLY PROTEST THESE EFFORTS TO DEPRIVE PROFESSOR FAURISSON OF HIS FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND EXPRESSION, AND WE CONDEMN THE SHAMEFUL CAMPAIGN TO SILENCE HIM.

> WE STRONGLY SUPPORT PROFESSOR FAURISSON'S JUST RIGHT OF ACADEMIC FREEDOM AND WE DEMAND THAT UNIVERSITY AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO ENSURE HIS SAFETY AND THE FREE EXERCISE OF HIS LEGAL RIGHTS.

Dr. Noam Chomsky signed that petition and has unfailingly defended me although he is not in agreement with the revisionist thesis.

III. Key Excerpt* from the 26 April 1983 Verdict of the Paris Court of Appeals: French Citizens Have Now the Right to Deny the Existence of the Alleged Gas Chambers

". . . Mr. Faurisson's research has dealt with the existence of the gas chambers which, if one were to believe the many testimonies, were supoosedly used during the Second World War to systematically put to death some of the persons deported by the German authorities;

Limiting ourselves for the time being to the historical problem that Faurisson wanted to raise on this precise point, it is proper to state that the accusations of frivolity made against him are lacking in pertinence and are not sufficiently proven; in fact, Faurisson's logical approach consists in trying to demonstrate, by using a line of argument [that he thinks is]** of a scholarly nature, that the existence of the gas chambers, as they have usually been described since 1945, runs into an absolute impossibility, which would be sufficient by itself to invalidate all of the existing testimonies or, at least, to make them suspect;

. . . it is not the job of the court to make pronouncements about the legitimacy of such a method or about the full significance of the arguments set forth by Faurisson, nor is it any more permissible for the court, considering the research to which he has devoted himself, to state that Faurisson has dismissed the testimonies frivolously or negligently, or that he has deliberately chosen to ignore them;

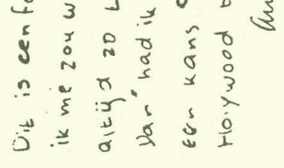
. . . furthermore, this being the case, no one can convict him of lying when he enumerates the many documents that he claims to have studied and the organizations at which he supposedly did research for more than fourteen years;

. . . the value of the conclusions defended by Faurisson rests therefore solely with the appraisal of experts, historians, and the public; . . ."

---

*The entire text of the verdict may be found in J. Aitken, *Epilogue judiciaire de l'affaire Faurisson* (*Judicial Epilogue to the Faurisson Affair*), Paris, La Vieille Taupe Publishers, 1983, pages 12-13.

**The words in brackets were a handwritten addition to the original printed text.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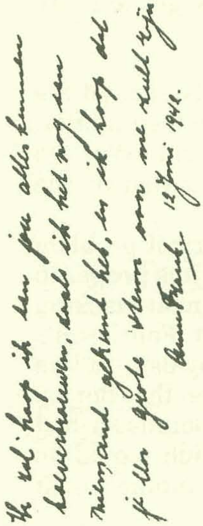
Two examples of handwriting attributed to Anne Frank. The texts are dated four months apart.


Ik zal hoop ik aan jou alles kunnen toevertrouwen, zoals ik het nog aan niemand gekund heb, en ik hoop dat je een grote steun aan me zult zijn.
Anne Frank, 12 Juni 1942.

IS THE DIARY OF ANNE FRANK GENUINE?

Robert Faurisson

versions not even counting the English language editions.

The 1963 U.S. edition of *Anne Frank: The Diary of a Young Girl* came with an introduction by Eleanor Roosevelt. According to the publisher, Cardinal, more than 2,500,000 copies of the book had been sold by that year in American editions alone, and it had already been made into one of the most highly honored plays in Broadway history, capturing the Pulitzer Prize, the New York Drama Critics Circle Award and the Antoinette Perry Award. George Stevens had made it into a major motion picture starring Millie Perkins as Anne Frank.

ANNE FRANK is believed to have died at the Bergen Belsen concentration camp in March of 1945 from typhus, a common epidemic disease in many of the camps during the final phase of the war when the transport of food, clothing and medical supplies was virtually cut off by Allied bombardment. What is curious is that Anne evidently survived the so-called "death camp" at Auschwitz-Birkenau from which she was transferred in 1944 to Bergen Belsen. Anne's father also survived Auschwitz, where he had been hospitalized.

This booklet is a reprint of the article which appeared with the same title in the Summer 1982 issue of *The Journal of Historical Review*. Dr. Faurisson opens his treatise with a critical internal analysis of the text of the *Diary*, followed by the details of an on-site forensic examination of the actual premises where Anne is supposed to have been in hiding (now a museum in Amsterdam). He then proceeds to a number of material discrepencies revealed during his interviews with the principal witness, Anne's father, Otto Frank, concluding the work with a bibliographic analysis and comparisons between two major texts of the *Diary*.

In reading this booklet you will not only discover the truth about the origins and evolution of this *Diary* attributed to a young girl, you'll also gain a healthy understanding of the incredible lengths to which people have gone to propagate and profit from this simple literary fraud—quite instructive as one delves deeper into the "Holocaust" literature.

Prof. Faurisson

***Is the Diary of Anne Frank Genuine?* • Pb, 64pp, illus., $5.00**

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'Crystal Night' 1938:
The Great Anti-German Spectacle

INGRID WECKERT

(Paper Presented to the Sixth International Revisionist Conference)

"Crystal Night" is the name that's been given to the night of 9-10 November 1938. In almost all large German cities and some smaller ones that night, store windows of Jewish shops were broken, Jewish houses and apartments were destroyed, and synagogues were demolished and set on fire. Many Jews were arrested, some were beaten, and some were even killed. The "Reich Crystal Night" (*Reichskristallnacht*) was one of the most shameful events of National Socialist Germany. Although the Jews suffered initially, the greatest harm was ultimately done to Germany and the German people.

Even people who are sympathetic to National Socialism cannot understand how this event could have happened. Julius Streicher, the so-called "number one Jew baiter,"[1] for example, was shocked when he first learned about the demonstrations and destruction the next morning.

The all-important question is: Who was responsible for the incident? It is generally accepted, especially by contemporary historians, that the Nazi gang organized and carried out the pogrom, and that the chief instigator was Propaganda Minister Dr. Joseph Goebbels. The truth of the matter is that Adolf Hitler was so disgusted by the incident that he forbade anyone from discussing the matter in his presence. Dr. Goebbels complained that he would now have to explain this terrible affair to the German people and the world, and that he simply did not know what kind of credible explanation to give. If he had actually been responsible for the Crystal Night, he surely would have had a well-prepared explanation. The explanation he gave on the morning of the 10th was extremely unconvincing and was generally not believed by the German public. During my study of this subject, which resulted in my book on the Crystal Night, *Feuerzeichen*, I found many facts which do not agree with the generally accepted thesis. On the contrary, the evidence which I have found gives a completely different picture.

The Story We Are Given

The generally accepted sequence of events, according to most writers on the subject, is this:

In early October 1938 the Polish government announced that all Polish passports would become invalid at the end of the month unless they received a special stamp before then, obtainable only in Poland. This measure was meant to rid Poland effectively for all time of all Polish Jews living in foreign countries, most of whom were in Germany. Many of the approximately 70,000 Polish Jews living in the Reich at the time had arrived after the First World War. Of course, the German government now feared that it would have to permanently accept these 70,000 Jews. The German government tried to negotiate this issue with the Poles, but they flatly refused.

On 28 October, just two days before the deadline, German police rounded up between 15,000 and 17,000 Polish Jews, mostly adult males, from across the Reich and transported them to the German-Polish border. The deportees traveled in regular German passenger trains with more than adequate space. Contrary to some claims, they were not crammed into cattle cars. The deportees were well provided with food and medical care. Red Cross personnel and medical doctors accompanied them on the trains.[2]

The Polish border officials were surprised when the first trainloads arrived at the border, and they let the Jews enter Poland. At about the same time, the Polish government was deporting German Jews back to Germany. The next day, 29 October, the Polish and German governments suddenly agreed to stop the deportations of their respective Jewish populations to each other's countries. The deportations were completely halted that night.

Among the Polish Jews deported was the family of Herschel Feibel Grynszpan (Gruenspan), a 17-year-old then living Paris. What followed next is generally reported either incorrectly or very one-sidedly. On 7 November Grynszpan went to the German Embassy in Paris and shot Embassy Secretary Ernst vom Rath. It is said that Grynszpan did this because he was furious over the deportation of his family. The truth about his motivation is very different. It is also claimed that the German population, upset by the news of vom Rath's death on the 9th, organized anti-Jewish demonstrations, destroyed Jewish stores, and demolished or set on fire all the synagogues in Germany. Demonstrations and destruction did take place, but the truth is that they were not organized by the German people and did not affect most of the synagogues in the Reich. Finally, it is claimed that the Crystal Night was the beginning of the extermination of the Jews in Germany. This is entirely false.

German-Jewish Relations Prior to the Crystal Night

Before explaining how the events surrounding the Crystal Night differ from what is generally believed, I must first give some background information about the peaceful years in Germany after Hitler came to power in 1933. Anyone who is aware of the true situation in Germany during the Third Reich era recognizes that the Crystal Night episode was quite extraordinary. It was a radical abberation from the normal pattern of daily life. The outburst was not in keeping with either the official National Socialist Jewish policy nor with the general German attitude towards the Jews. The Germans were no more anti-Semitic than any other people. In fact, Jews who had to leave other European countries preferred Germany as a place to live and work.

Within the National Socialist Party itself there were two distinct anti-Semitic factions. One was scholarly and one was vulgar. The scholarly faction was centered around the Institute for the Study of the Jewish Question. It published several journals and gave lectures to civic and political groups. Its activities were consistent with the policy of peacefully removing the Jews from Germany and resettling them elsewhere. The SS was totally committed to this policy and rejected vulgar anti-Semitism. The vulgar anti-Semitic faction tried to influence popular feeling. The chief exponent of this approach was Julius Streicher, who published the unofficial monthly *Der Stuermer*. It used crude caricatures to portray Jews in the most horrible way in an effort to convince readers that the Jews were as evil as Satan. For years the motto "The Jews Are Our Misfortune" appeared on the front page of every issue. The *Stuermer* often employed improper and undignified means to make its point.

German National Socialism basically regarded the Jews as non-German aliens who had proven themselves destructive to any nation that permitted them to dominate. Therefore, the only way to prevent further problems was to separate the Jews from the Germans. In other words, they had to emigrate. On this point the National Socialists and the Zionists were in full agreement. Although the Jews made up less than one percent of the total German population in 1933, they had power and influence in finance, business, cultural affairs and scientific life far out of proportion to their small numbers. Jewish influence was very widely regarded as harmful to German recovery after the First World War.

No legal measures were taken against the Jews in Germany until after the international Jewish "Declaration of War" against Germany, as announced, for example, on the front page of the London *Daily Express* of 24 March 1933. This "declaration" took the form of a worldwide boycott of German goods. A week later there was an officially sanctioned boycott of Jewish shops and stores throughout Germany. This action was in direct response to the international Jewish boycott of German goods already in effect. However, the German response was a rather absurd affair and it was therefore limited to a single day, the first of April 1933. Hitler and Goebbels privately recognized that the German counter-boycott was a failure and would only turn people against the new government. Furthermore, this one-day action came on a Saturday, the Jewish sabbath. Religious Jews took malicious pleasure at the discomfort of the Jews who normally kept their stores open on Saturdays and were now, in effect, forced by the government to obey the Jewish law against work on the sabbath. The National Socialist regime thereafter sought to diminish Jewish influence and power by strictly legal means. The first German law which could be considered anti-Jewish was dated 7 April 1933. Although the legal status of the Jews was restricted, each and every Jew knew what his legal rights were and to what he was still entitled. There were no secret or extra-legal measures against the Jews.

Ironically, it was precisely the official discrimination policy against the Jews which reduced the effectiveness of anti-Semitic propaganda to almost nothing. The Germans are a generally fair-minded people. When Germans saw their Jewish neighbors being treated unjustly, they considered that far worse than the dangers which the Jews supposedly represented simply because they were Jewish. Furthermore, the examples of Jewish criminality and pervsersion described in the *Stuermer* were widely regarded as exceptions to normal Jewish behavior. The average German was convinced that the Jews whom he knew personally were completely unlike the criminal types sometimes described in newspapers. In my home town of Berlin most of the doctors and lawyers were still Jewish. And even the public health officer for children in the district of Berlin where my family lived was a Jew who kept this job throughout the war. I still remember one day when my mother returned from her Jewish doctor. She told us that she hadn't been able to see him because he was no longer there. He had been taken away—hauled off the previous night. My mother was very upset. A crowd of people had gathered outside his house. They were all shocked, and they discussed the injustice of this measure quite openly. My parents later talked about what had happened, and they both agreed that the doctor had never really done anything wrong. Their reaction was typical. A few days later our family pediatrician, who was also Jewish, was likewise taken away.

At the time I did not know what it meant to be taken away. It was only many years after the war, when I started reading the Holocaust literature, that I learned that I was supposed to believe that to be taken away meant deportation to a concentration camp and probable death. But like so many thousands of others, these two doctor families were not exterminated. One summer day in 1973, as I was walking through the streets of the German quarter in Tel Aviv, I came upon the name plates of both doctors on the doors of two houses. I immediately tried to visit them and found out that both families had migrated to Palestine in 1939. Although one of them had died in the meantime in Israel, I was able to speak to the other. He remembered my father very well and explained that when he and his family were arrested, they were taken to a camp and given the choice of either signing a document declaring their intention of emigrating from Germany or being taken to a labor camp. He and his family chose to emigrate. In fact, most German Jews survived the anti-Semitic measures quite well. That does not mean that those measures were not unfair to individual Jews, but they could usually manage to live with them.

The Haavara Agreement

As already mentioned, the main goal of Germany's Jewish policy was to encourage the Jews to emigrate. After the beginning of the international Jewish boycott against German goods in March 1933, the Jewish community in Palestine contacted the German government and offered a break in the boycott as far as Palestine was concerned provided it was combined with Jewish emigration from Germany. As a result, the "Haavara" or "Transfer" agreement was signed by the Germans and Jews in May 1933.[3] The Jewish community thus concluded an extremely beneficial agreement with the National Socialist government only a few months after its formation. This agreement was a crucial phase in the creation of the State of Israel. When I made this claim in my book *Feuerzeichen*, which appeared in 1981, some readers considered it outrageous.[4] But then this same claim was made in *The Transfer Agreement*, a book by Edwin Black published in

1984. The final paragraph of his book concludes with the statement that the continuing economic relationship between the Jewish community of Palestine and National Socialist Germany was "an indispendable factor in the creation of the State of Israel."[5]

The Haavara agreement made it possible for any Jew to emigrate from Germany with practically all of his possessions and personal fortune provided that Jews could deposit all of their assets in one of two Jewish-owned banks in Germany which had branch offices in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. Upon arrival in Palestine they could withdraw their assets according to the terms of the agreement. The German capital of these two Jewish banking firms was guaranteed by the German government. Even after the war these assets were fully available to the Jewish owners or their representatives.[6] If a Jew did not wish to emigrate immediately he could transfer all of his personal assets to Palestine where they would be safeguarded by a trustee while he remained in Germany for an indefinite period with emigration as his eventual goal. In the meantime his personal fortune was safe outside of Germany.

Even poorer Jews who did not possess 1,000 English pounds were able to emigrate to Palestine with credits provided through the Haavara. The British authorities generally required minimum assets of 1,000 pounds for each immigrant to Palestine if he was not entitled to a so-called worker's certificate. Only a limited number of these certificates were available and they were issued only to persons with special job skills. In addition, Jews emigrating to Palestine were exempt from the so-called "Reich flight tax," which all emigrating Germans normally had to pay. However, the Jewish companies which arranged the transfers charged the emigrants a fixed percentage of their total assets. The Haavara agreement remained in operation until the end of 1941 when the United States entered the war.

National Socialist Ethical Standards

I am always amazed whenever I read books about the Third Reich published after the war. Most give an almost totally false impression of the reality of the Third Reich. The Germany of Adolf Hitler was not the Germany described by such books. It was quite different. I was brought up during the Third Reich. Along with my entire generation, I received an education of the highest ethical standards. We were brought up to love and respect our country and people. We were taught to be proud of its great history. The heroes of Germany's past represented our great ideals. They spurred us to honesty and responsibility in our own lives. In my opinion, the youth of Adolf Hitler's Germany was the finest of all Europe and perhaps of the entire world.

The same ethical standards applied to the SS and SA. The SA stormtroopers were not sophisticated men. They usually preferred to use their fists before using their heads, but they acted according to the ideals which they had been taught: honor, faithfulness, honesty and devotion to their people and country. They were not at all the sadistic beasts portrayed by so-called historians. It was their faithfulness and gallantry which saved Germany from chaos and Communism. It is sheer stupidity to describe the SA men as blood-thirsty killers, as is widely done today. Although some individual SA men may have committed acts of brutality, it is nonsense to blame the entire organization or the whole German people and its government for such behavior. Individual SA men were indeed involved in the Crystal Night incident. But far fewer actually participated than has been claimed. Of the 28 SA Groups which existed in Germany at the time, the available evidence indentifies only three as having actually received orders to join the anti-Jewish demonstrations.

What Really Happened During the Crystal Night

Now let us look at what really happened during that fateful night.

After 1945 any harm ever done to any Jew in National Socialist Germany has been described in great detail in many publications and combined with other stories to give exaggerated figures which have then become the so-called "historical truth." How strange it is then that despite the passage of more than forty years, no one has established the true extent of the damage done to the Jews during the Crystal Night. All one can learn from history writers is that "all" synagogues were demolished and that "all" shop windows were destroyed. Aside from this vague description, one is given almost no details.

On the basis of the so-called "historical truth" about the Crystal Night, the President of the World Jewish Congress, Nahum Goldmann, had the chutzpah in 1952 to claim 500 million dollars from German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer as reparation payment for the damage done during that November night. When Adenauer asked Goldmann for his justification for this enormous request, Goldmann replied: "You find the justification yourself! What I want is not the justification but the money."[7] And he got his money! Goldmann may have interpreted the willingness of the German Chancellor to pay a half billion dollars as proof for the claim that all synagogues had been destroyed. Why else would Germany be so foolish as to pay for something which never happened? All the same, the "historical truth" that "all" German synagogues were destroyed is a lie.

In 1938 there were approximately 1,400 synagogues in Germany, of which only about 180 were destroyed or damaged. Furthermore, Jews owned approximately 100,000 shops and department stores in Germany in 1938. Of this number, only about 7,500 had their windows broken. These figures show just how much the so-called "historical truth" differs from what actually happened. The damage and destruction that did actually occur was, of course, a terrible shame, but the exaggerations, especially by German historians who use them to condemn their own people, are also a shame.

History writers tell us that during the Crystal Night all the Jews were frightened, meekly accepted whatever happened to them and watched the destruction of their property with no resistance. The contrary is true. While going through the files on this subject, I found many documents which report precisely just the opposite of what is claimed. The fact is that in many cases Jews and their German neighbors fought together against the attackers, pushing them down staircases. Street mobs were beaten up and chased away in more than one case. Police and Party officials were generally on the side of the Jews. Some Jewish community leaders went to police stations the next morning and asked the police to investigate the damage done to their synagogues. The resulting police reports are still available in the files today.

Also contrary to what we have been told, most Jews were not directly affected by these events. In Berlin, for example, all of the teachers and pupils of the city's largest Jewish school, which served the entire Berlin area, appeared in their classes the next morning without having noticed anything unusual during the previous night. Heinemann Stern, the Jewish principal of that school, wrote in his postwar memoirs that he noticed a burning synagogue on his way to the school on the morning after the Crystal Night, but he thought it was just an accidental fire. It was only after he arrived at the school that he received a telephone call informing him of the destruction of the previous night. He then went on with his classes of the day and only during the first recess did he take the trouble to inform the entire student body about what had happened.[8]

How can such evidence be reconciled with the claim by Herman Graml, a prominent German historian and associate of the Munich Institute of Contemporary History, who wrote: "Every single Jew was beaten, chased, robbed, insulted and humiliated. The SA tore the Jews from their beds, mercilessly beat them in their apartments and then. . . chased them almost to death. . . Blood flowed everywhere."[9] Is it conceivable that thousands of Jewish children would be have been sent to school by their parents on the morning after that fateful night if the attacks against Jews had been so horrific or extensive? Would any parents have let their children go to school if they had thought there was even the slightest danger of them being attacked by roving gangs of SA men? I think the answer is clearly no! Deplorable things did indeed happen which were bad enough, but the fantasies of modern historians and history writers such as Graml are simply inexcusable.

The Grynszpan Story

It was Herschel Feibel Grynszpan (Gruenspan) who initiated the entire Crystal Night affair by shooting the Secretary of the German Embassy in Paris, Ernst vom Rath. History writers tell us that the 17-year-old Grynszpan was merely a poor Jewish boy who had been driven to despair by the injustice done to his family and who, in his deep depression, shot the young German diplomat. The fact, however, is that Grynszpan had not shown any previous interest in his family's fate. He had wanted to be free of them and had gone to Paris to live on his own.

When the French police asked Grynszpan why he had shot vom Rath, he gave several contradictory explanations:

Version 1: He did not mean to kill vom Rath. He had wanted to kill the German ambassador but because he did not know the ambassador personally, he shot vom Rath instead by mistake.

Version 2: He had only wanted to kill himself, but wanted to do so directly beneath a portrait of Adolf Hitler. In this way he hoped to become a symbol for the Jewish people, who were being murdered daily in Germany.

Version 3: He had not intended to kill anyone. Although he had a pistol in his hand, he did not know how to handle it properly and it simply went off accidentally.

Version 4: He could not remember what had happened while he stood in vom Rath's office. All he remembered was that he was there, but did not remember why.

Version 5: He couldn't understand the question at all. He must have had a complete blackout because he no longer remembered anything.

And finally, version 6, which he gave several years later to German officials: Whatever the French police had written down about his reason was nonsense. The true story is that he used to procure young boys for the German embassy secretary because vom Rath had been a homosexual. And he shot vom Rath because he had not been paid for his services. This is the only explanation which he later retracted during interrogation. However, none of these explanations is correct.

The true story is far less heroic. Grynszpan had left his family in

Hannover, Germany, in 1936 after finishing elementary school but without graduating. His father had been a piece-work tailor who had moved from Poland to Germany after the First World War. Herschel had a reputation for disliking work and he hung out at the homes of his uncles in Brussels and Paris. In February 1938 his Polish passport expired and the French government refused to renew his residence permit. As a direct result, his Paris uncle insisted that Herschel leave his home because he was afraid of getting into touble with the law. And now the story begins to get extremely interesting. Although Grynszpan had no job or money (his uncle refused to support him), he was nevertheless able to move into a hotel. His hotel happened to be just around the corner from the offices of an important and influential Jewish organization, the International League Against Anti-Semitism, or LICA. The questions which now arise are: Who supported him after February 1938 and who paid for his hotel room? Although he had no apparent means of support or even valid identity papers between February and November 1938, Grynszpan was nevertheless able to purchase a handgun for 250 francs on the morning of 7 November 1938 and then, about an hour later, go to the German Embassy and shoot vom Rath.

Grynszpan was arrested at the scene and was taken to a police station. Although he was a totally obscure Polish Jew with no money and no apparent supporters, nevertheless one of France's most famous lawyers, Moro Giafferi, appeared at the police station a few hours after the shooting and told the police that he was Grynszpan's attorney. Nothing could possibly have appeared about the shooting in any newspaper before his arrival. How then could Moro Giafferi have possibly known about the shooting? Why was he so eager to defend this young foreigner? And finally, who was going to pay his attorney fees? As it turned out, Giafferi took good care of Grynszpan during the following years. Before the Grynszpan case could come before a French court, the war broke out. After the Germans occupied France, he was turned over to them by the French authorities. He was taken to Germany where he was interrogated many times, but no trial ever took place. Moro Giafferi, who had moved to Switzerland in the meantime, still managed to take good care of Grynszpan.

Many German officials were actively interested in the case. They wanted Grynszpan brought to trial, but this never happened. Rumors circulated. A trial date was scheduled but then postponed again and again and again. Whenever any official asked why Grynszpan had not been brought to trial, he was given a different answer each time. The veil of mystery surrounding this case was lifted only slightly many years after the war when a note was discovered among the many hundreds of pages in the Grynszpan file. This single short note stated simply that the trial against Grynszpan would not take place for "other than official reasons."[10] It gave no further explanation. Although the National Socialist regime supposedly committed the greatest imaginable crimes against the Jews, the murderer Grynszpan survived the war and returned to Paris. Why to Paris, where he could still have been arrested and tried for murder? But instead he received a new name and new identity papers there.[11] From whom? Who was in Paris to help him and once again take such good care of him?

Incidentally, the Grynszpan family also survived the war. The young man's father, mother, brother and sister were deported to Poland as a result of the Polish passport affair and shortly thereafter were somehow able to emigrate to Palestine. Amazingly enough, this took place at a time when immigration to Palestine was limited to persons who possessed at least 1,000 English pounds in cash. Grynszpan's father, a poor piece-work tailor, certainly never had a fortune of 4,000 English pounds. Many years after the war the father testified at the Eichmann trial in Jerusalem that he and his family had to give up all of their money except for ten marks per family member when they arrived at the German-Polish border in October 1938.[12] How did they ever raise the 4,000 English pounds only a short time later for their migration to Palestine? Who organized their move?

Perhaps the answer to all of these questions is. . . Moro Giafferi! He was not a sorcerer, but someone even more powerful: he was the legal counsel of the LICA. The LICA was founded in Paris in 1933 by the Jew Bernard Lecache and operated as a militant propaganda organization against real or imagined anti-Semitism. Its main office is still in Paris at the same address it was at in 1938. (Now known as the LICRA, it unsuccessfully sued Robert Faurisson a few years ago.) Moro Giafferi was well worth the fees LICA paid him as its legal counsel. He apparently enjoyed spectacular scenes. He had already achieved international renown at a mass meeting in Paris following the Berlin Reichstag fire of February 1933. Without knowing at all what had happened, he nevertheless delivered a spiteful speech against National Socialist Germany in which he accused Hermann Goering of setting the fire. In February 1936 Giafferi hurried to Davos, Switzerland, where the Jew David Frankfurter had shot and killed Wilhelm Gustloff, the head of the Swiss branch of the German National Socialist Party. During the subsequent trial it was clearly established that Frankfurter had been a hired murderer with backing from an unidentified but influential organization. All clues pointed to the LICA, but with Moro Giafferi as his defense counsel, Frankfurter remained silent about who, if anyone, had hired him. Amazingly enough, Frankfurter's answers to questions about the shooting showed the same pattern as Grynszpan's answers almost three years later after Giafferi arrived to help following the shooting of Ernst vom Rath.

Who Could the Provocateurs Have Been?

Like a medal, the Crystal Night has two sides. One side lies in the shining glare of historical research while the other remains in the shadows. Until now no one (at least as far as I know) has tried to examine the hidden side.

In the wake of the Crystal Night, almost everyone wanted to know who the culprits were. Dr. Goebbels had to give an official explanation which was, in effect, that the German people had been so enraged by the murder of Ernst vom Rath that they wanted to punish the Jews and therefore started the pogrom. But Goebbels did not really believe this story himself. To several persons he expressed his suspicion that a secret organization must have instigated the entire affair. He simply could not believe that anything so well organized could have been a spontaneous popular outburst.

One must understand the broad popularity of the National Socialist regime at that time to realize how incredibly difficult it was to imagine that any secret, well organized opposition movement could have instigated such a pogrom. We now know about some of these so-called resistance organizations. But at that time such well-organized opposition groups seemed preposterous, so overwhelming was the popularity and self-confidence of Hitler and the National Socialist government. Although the National Socialists were probably more aware of the danger of Jewish power and influence than anyone else, they nevertheless totally underestimated it. In a real sense, they were far too naive. One consequence of this enormous popularity and self-confidence was that the Party leaders themselves simply could not imagine that it was *not* one of their own colleagues behind the whole affair. Among the Party leaders fingers were being pointed in all directions. Apparently to avoid internal wrangling and the harm that this would do to their public image, an investigation to determine the instigators never took place. Hitler believed that Dr. Goebbels, his closest confidant and the one man he could never abandon, had been the instigator.

The only persons actually punished were individual SA men who had participated directly in the pogrom and been accused in German courts of murder, assault, looting or other criminal acts by Jewish or German witnesses to these crimes. But before any of these cases ever actually came to trail, Hitler issued a special decree ordering the postponement of all such cases until after the accused individuals were first prosecuted by the Supreme Party Court, an internal court concerned with discipline within the National Socialist Party organization. The most severe punishment which the Court could impose was expulsion from the Party. In this way the Party hoped to remove any guilty members from its own ranks before they appeared as defendants in the criminal courts. In February 1939 the Chief Judge of the Supreme Party Court, Walter Buch, reported his findings to Hermann Goering. From an examination of the Buch report as well as many documents from some of the thousands of trials of so-called Nazi criminals held after the war, and corroborating testimony by thousands of defendants and witnesses, I have been able to gain a detailed and accurate understanding of what actually happened during those fateful days and nights of November 1938.

Already on 8 November 1938, one day before the Crystal Night, strange persons who had never been seen there before suddenly appeared in several small towns in Hessen near the French-German border. They went to mayors, Kreisleiters (district Party leaders) and other important officials in these towns and asked them what actions were being planned against the Jews. The officials were rather startled by these questions and replied that they didn't know of any such plans. The strangers acted as if they were shocked to hear this. They shouted and complained that something had to be done against the Jews and then, without further explanation, they disappeared. Most of those who were approached by these strangers reported the incidents to the police or discussed them with friends. They usually regarded the strangers as crazy anti-Semites and promptly forgot about the incidents—until the next evening. Some of these apparently crazy individuals really outdid themselves. In one case two men, dressed as members of the SS, went to an SA Standartenfuehrer (Colonel) and ordered him to destroy the nearby synagogue. To understand the absurdity of this one must know that the SS and SA were completely separate organizations. A real SS member would never have tried to give orders to an SA unit. This case shows that the strangers were foreigners who did not even understand the distinctions of German authority. The SA Standartenfuehrer rejected the demands of the self-styled SS men and reported the incident to his superiors.

When the provocateurs realized that their efforts were not working with local officials, they changed their tactics. Instead they tried to incite directly the people in the streets. In another town, for example, two men appeared at the market place and began making speeches to the people there, trying to incite them against the Jews. Eventually some people did indeed storm the synagogue, but by then the two provocateurs had, of course, disappeared.

Similar incidents occured in several towns. Unidentified strangers suddenly appeared, gave speeches, started throwing stones at windows, stormed Jewish buildings, schools, hospitals, and synagogues, and then disappeared. These unusual incidents had already started on the 8th of November, that is, before Ernst vom Rath was dead. His death was only reported late on the evening of the 9th. The fact that this strange pattern of incidents had already begun one day earlier proves that the death of vom Rath was not the reason for the Crystal Night outburst. Vom Rath was still alive when the pogrom began.

And this was only the beginning. Well organized and widespread incidents began on the evening of 9 November. Groups of generally five or six young men, armed with bars and clubs, went down the streets smashing store windows. They were not Jew-hating SA men, enraged over the murder of a German diplomat. They operated too methodically to have been motivated by anger. They carried out their work without any apparent emotion. Nonetheless, it was their destruction that encouraged certain other individuals from the lowest social classes to become a mob and contimue the destruction.

There is another mysterious aspect to all this. Several district and local Party leaders (Kreisleiters and Ortsgruppenleiters) were awakened from their sleep in the middle of the night by telephone calls. Someone claiming to be from the regional Party headquarters or the regional Party propaganda bureau (Gauleitung or Gaupropagandaleitung) would ask what was happening in the official's town or city. If the Party official answered "Nothing, everything is quiet," the telephone caller would then say in German slang that he had received an order to the effect that the Jews were going to get it tonight and that the respective official should carry out the order. In most cases the Party leader, disturbed from his sleep, did not even understand what had happened. Some simply dismissed the call as a joke and went back to bed. Others called back the office from where the telephone voice had pretended to be calling. If they managed to reach someone in charge, they were often told that nobody knew anything about such a call. But if they reached only a lower official they were often told: "Well, if you got that order, you'd better go ahead and do what you were told." These telephone calls caused considerable confusion. All this came out months later during the trials conducted by the Supreme Party Court. The Chief Judge concluded that in every case a misunderstanding had arisen in one link or other of the chain of command. But when they were confronted with apparently genuine orders to organize demonstrations against the Jews that night, most of the Party leaders had simply not known what to do.

The pattern of seemingly sporadic anti-Jewish incidents in small towns, followed only later by a carefully planned outburst in many large cities throughout Germany, clearly suggests the work of a centrally organized group of well-trained agents. Even shortly after the Crystal Night, many leading Party officials suspected that the entire affair had been centrally cordinated. Significantly, even Hermann Graml, the only West German historian who has written in detail about the Crystal Night, carefully distinguished between provocateurs and people who were simply carried away by their emotions and spontaneously took part in the riot and destruction. Without providing the slightest shred of real evidence, Graml claims that the provocative agents were directed by Dr. Goebbels.

Munich on the Ninth of November

While all this was happening across the Reich, a special annual commemoration was being held in Munich. Fifteen years earlier, on 9 November 1923, a movement led by Adolf Hitler, Erich von Ludendorff (a leading First World War General), and two major figures in the Bavarian government tried to depose the legal government and take responsibility themselves as a new national government. The uprising or putsch was put down and 16 rebels were shot down next to the Feldherrnhalle, a famous old monument building in central Munich. Accordingly, the 9th of November had been commemorated every year since 1933 as the memorial day for the martyred heroes of the National Socialist movement. Adolf Hitler and the Party veterans, as well as all of the Gauleiters (regional Party leaders) met every year in Munich for the occasion. Hitler would usually deliver a speech to a select audience of Party veterans at the famous Buergerbraeukeller restaurant on the evening of the 8th. On the morning of the 9th Hitler and his veteran comrades would reenact the 1923 "March to the Feldherrnhalle." On the evening of the 9th the Fuehrer always held an informal dinner at the Old Town Hall ("Alte Rathaus") with old comrades as well as all the Gauleiters. At midnight young men who were about to enter the SS and the SA were sworn in at the Feldherrnhalle. All of the Gauleiters and other guests participated in this very solemn ceremony. After it was over they left Munich and returned to their homes throughout the Reich.

It is clear that the 9th of November date was chosen very cleverly. The annual commemoration ceremony of that day insured that almost all of the Gauleiters would be away from their home offices when the anti-Jewish demonstrations began. In other words, the actual decision-making responsibilities that were normally carried out by the Gauleiters were temporarily in the hands of lower ranking individuals with less experience. Between 8 and 10 November, subordinate officials stood in for the Gauleiters who were either in Munich or en route to or from the annual commemoration there. This temporary transfer of decision-making authority is very important because it contributed to much of the subsequent confusion and thus helped the provocateurs. Another contributing factor was the fact that no one expected any trouble. At that time Germany was one of the most peaceful countries in the world. There was no reason to expect any kind of unrest. It was only during dinner at the Old Town Hall that the first sporadic reports of riot and destruction reached Munich from some of the Gauleiter's home offices. At the same time it was learned that Ernst vom Rath had died in Paris from his wounds.

What Was Goebbels Doing?

After the dinner was over, the Fuehrer left at about 9 p.m. and returned to his apartment. Dr. Goebbels then stood up and spoke briefly about the latest news. He informed the audience that vom Rath had died and that, as a result, anti-Jewish demonstrations had spontaneously broken out in two or three places. Goebbels was renowned for his passionate and inspiring speeches. But what he gave that evening was not a speech at all but only a short and very informal announcement. He pointed out that the times were over when Jews could kill Germans without being punished. Legal measures would now be taken. Nevertheless, the death of vom Rath should not be an excuse for private actions against Jews. He suggested that the Gauleiters and the head of the SA, Viktor Lutze, should contact their home offices to make sure that peace and order were being maintained. It's very important to understand that Dr. Goebbels had no authority to give any orders to the others present.

As fellow Gauleiters they were colleagues of equal rank. Anyway, what he said was apparently considered so reasonable that the others agreed and did what he suggested.

You may have heard the widespread allegation that Goebbels started the Crystal Night pogrom with a fiery speech on that evening of 9 November. This widely accepted story is false. The following facts will clarify this point:

1. As Gauleiter for Berlin, Dr. Goebbels had no authority outside of his Berlin district. Although he was also the Propaganda Minister of the German government, this did not give him any authority over Party officials. Furthermore, he had no authority whatsoever over the SA or the SS.

2. Of all the National Socialist leaders, Dr. Goebbels would have understood better than anyone else the immense damage that an anti-Jewish pogrom would cause for Germany. On the morning of 10 November, when he first learned about the extent of the damage and destruction of the previous night, he was furious and shocked at the stupidity of those who had participated. There is substantial evidence for this.

3. How could a speech given after 9 p.m. on the evening of 9 November have possibly incited a "pogrom" which had already begun the day before when the first provocateurs appeared at municipal and Party offices to persuade officials to take action against the Jews?

4. Although we do not know exactly what Dr. Goebbels said in his supposedly fiery speech, we do know what the Gauleiters and the SA commander did after the speech had ended: they went to the telephones and called their respective home offices to order their subordinates to do everything necessary to maintain peace and order. They emphasized that under no circumstances must anyone take part in any demonstrations. These telephone instructions were written down at the home offices by whoever was on duty. The orders from each Gauleiter were then passed on by telex to other offices within the Gau or district. These telex messages are still in various records files and are available to anyone who wishes to examine them.

Orders to Stop the Pogrom

While the Gauleiters were calling their home offices, the head of the SA, Viktor Lutze, ordered all of his immediate subordinates, the SA Gruppenfuehrers, who were together with him in Munich, to call their home offices as well. Lutze ordered that under no circumstances could SA men take part in any demonstrations against Jews, and that furthermore the SA was to intervene to stop any demonstrations already in progress. As a result of these strict orders, SA men began to guard Jewish stores that very night wherever windows had been broken. There is no doubt about this order by Lutze because we have the postwar court testimony of several witnesses confirming it. The SS and the police were given similar orders to restore peace and order. Himmler ordered Reinhard Heydrich to prevent all destruction of property and to protect Jews against demonstrators. The telex communication of this order still exists. It is in the files of the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg. However, during the Nuremberg trial this telex order was presented in three different forms, with forged amendments to change the original meaning. In my book *Feuerzeichen* I undertook to restore the original text.

Adolf Hitler joined the midnight celebration at the Feldherrnhalle. It was only after he returned to his apartment about one o'clock in the morning that he learned about the demonstrations which had been taking place in Munich, during which one synagogue had been set on fire. He was furious and immediately ordered the police chief of Munich to come see him. Hitler told him to immediately stop the fire and to make sure that no other outrages took place in Munich. He then called various police and Party officials throughout the Reich to learn the extent of these demonstrations. Finally, he ordered a telex message sent to all Gauleiter offices. It read: "By express order from the very highest authority, arson against Jewish businesses or other property must in no case and under no circumstances take place." Synagogues were not specifically mentioned, apparently because Hitler was still unaware of the burning of synagogues, apart from the one in Munich.

How Did the SA Get Involved Despite the Orders From Its Own Leaders?

How was it possible that in spite of all these emphatic orders, so much damage and destruction could have been done and that so many SA members could have participated? According to the records, at least three of the 28 SA Groups did not obey the orders of SA chief Lutze. Instead, they sent out their men to destroy synagogues and Jewish buildings. In effect they did precisely the opposite of what Lutze had ordered. What actually happened is clear from the testimony and evidence presented at postwar trials against former SA men accused of participating in the riot. The trials, held between 1946 and 1952, were based to a large extent on the report of SA Brigade 50 chief Karl Lucke and begins with these words: "On 10 November 1938, at 3 o'clock in the morning, I received the following order: 'By order of the Gruppenfuehrer, all Jewish synagogues within the Brigade district are to be immediately blown up or set on fire'." Lucke then included in his report a listing of synagogues which had been destroyed by members of his Brigade. This report has been cited by the prosecution at the Nuremberg Tribunal and by practically all of the consensus historians ever since as proof that the SA was given orders to destroy Jewish stores and synagogues.

The contradiction between the orders actually given and the statement made in the Lucke report requires a detailed explanation. On 9 November the leader of SA Group Mannheim, Herbert Fust, was in Munich together with the other SA Group leaders and the SA Chief of Staff, Viktor Lutze. When Lutze ordered the Group leaders to contact their home offices to stop all anti-Jewish demonstrations, Fust, along with the other SA leaders, did just that. He called his office in Mannheim and passed on the orders he had received from Lutze. The man who was on duty that night at the Mannheim SA office telephone and who received Fust's order confirmed that he understood it and then hung up. But he never passed on the order he had received. Instead, he transmitted precisely the opposite order. The normal procedure would have been for the man on duty at the telephone to immediately call the deputy group leader, Lucke, who was in nearby Darmstadt. But instead he called SA Oberfuehrer (senior colonel) Fritsch and asked him to come to the office. Fritsch had a reputation for not being particularly clever. When he arrived, the man who had received the telephone call showed him a small paper slip with a few notes on it which said that the synagogues within the Mannheim SA Group district were to be destroyed. The man who had received the call explained to Fritsch that the order had just arrived from Munich. Slow-minded as he was, Fritsch did not know what to do and called the local Kreisleiter (district Party leader) and his deputy. These two men then arrived at the SA office and discussed the situation, while at the same time the telephone duty man notified other SA leaders, but still not the deputy Group leader Lucke. In the meantime the small paper slip disappeared and the SA men now arriving at the headquarters met only the Kreisleiter, who told them about the order which he thought had come from Munich. No one asked for any further confirmation. The SA men then left to begin the destruction. Hours later, when the whole action was almost finished, the telephone guard finally called Deputy Group Leader Lucke and passed on the false order. He also informed Lucke that the action had already been going on for several hours. Since it was almost all over by this time, Lucke also neglected to ask for confirmation of the order. It was already 3 o'clock in the morning. Lucke then alerted the Standartenfuehrer of his Brigade and carried out the destruction within the Darmstadt district.

At 8 o'clock the next morning Lucke sat down and wrote the report which was later cited at the Nuremberg Tribunal. In fact, as already shown, there was no order to commit arson or carry out destruction against any Jewish property from the Gruppenfuehrer in Munich, but only from the telephone guard. Who he was remains a mystery. During the postwar trials against members of this SA unit, none of the judges asked for the name or identity of this telephone guard. This mysterious man was very probably an agent for those who were actually behind the entire Crystal Night affair.

The Fine Imposed on the Jews

Early in the morning following the Crystal Night, Propaganda Minister Dr. Goebbels announced in a radio broadcast that any action against Jews was strictly prohibited. He warned that severe penalties would be imposed on anyone who did not obey this order. He also explained that the Jewish question would be resolved only by legal means. As already mentioned, German government and Party officials were furious about what had happened. Hermann Goering, who was responsible for Germany's economy, complained that it would be impossible to replace the special plate glass of the broken store windows because it was not manufactured in Germany. It had to be imported from Belgium and would cost a great deal of precious foreign currency. Because of the Jewish boycott against German goods, the Reich was short of foreign exchange currency. Goering therefore decided that because this shortage was caused by the Jews, it was they who would have to pay for the broken glass. He imposed a fine of one billion Reichsmarks on the German Jews. This fine is always mentioned by anyone who writes about the Crystal Night. But historians and history writers invariably neglect to explain the reason for the fine.

It was certainly unjust to force Jews to pay for damage which they had not caused. Goering understood this. However, in private he justified the fine by citing the fact that the 1933 Jewish declaration of war against Germany was proclaimed in the name of the millions of Jews throughout the world. Therefore they could now help their co-religionists in Germany bear the consequences of the boycott. It should also be pointed out that only German Jews with assets of more than 5,000 Reichsmarks in cash had to contribute to the fine. In 1938, when prices were very low, 5,000 Reichsmarks was a small fortune. Anyone with that much money in cash would certainly have had far more wealth in other assets and could therefore well afford to pay their assessed portion of the fine without being reduced to poverty, despite what history writers have maintained.

The Consequences of the Crystal Night

It is often said that the Crystal Night incident was the official start of the German "Final Solution of the Jewish Question." This is quite true, but "Final Solution" did not mean physical extermination—it meant only emigration of the Jews from Germany. Immediately after the Crystal Night, Hitler ordered the creation of a central agency to organize the emigration of the Jews from Germany as rapidly as possible. Accordingly, Goering set up the Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration ("Reichszentrale fuer die juedische Auswanderung") with Reinhard Heydrich as director. This agency combined the various government departments which had been involved with Jewish emigration. It simplified official procedures for Jewish emigration, but its work was severely hampered by the unwillingness of almost all countries to admit Jews. The only country to which Jews could still easily emigrate was Palestine, provided they possessed one thousand pounds sterling each, as required by the British authorities there.

Despite the favorable terms of the Haavara or Transfer Agreement, only a few German Jews were willing to emigrate to Palestine. In those days Palestine was only at the beginning of its development. It was still an agrarian country with very little industry. It was only after the arrival of thousands of German Jews with their capital and experience that industrial development really began there. The Jews in Germany were generally employed in trade, industry, or the professions. There were little or no opportunities for them in Palestine. For example, there was virtually no financial structure in Palestine in the 1930s. There was no money market, no stock exchange, and no investment banking. How could businessmen operate in such an environment?

Because so few Jews wanted to migrate to Palestine, special efforts were made to open the doors of other countries, but this proved very difficult. Prosperous nations did not want Jewish immigrants and poor countries were very unattractive. In the summer of 1938 an Inter-Governmental Refugee Committee was established with the American lawyer George Rublee as its director. In January 1939 (that is, after the Crystal Night), Rublee and the German government signed an agreement by which all German Jews could emigrate to the country of their choice. Interestingly enough, it was the father of a future American president and the father of a future German president who nearly torpedoed this agreement: Joseph Kennedy, the U.S. Ambassador to Britain, and Ernst von Weizsaecker, State Secretary of the German Foreign Office and father of the current president of the German Federal Republic. Adolf Hitler personally intervened in the negotiating process and saved the agreement by sending Reichsbank President Hjalmar Schacht to London to negotiate with Rublee.

Rublee himself later called it a "senational agreement"—and it was indeed sensational. Special arrangements between the Inter-Governmental Committee and governments of individual countries would guarantee the financial security of the migrating Jews. Training camps would be established to prepare emigrating Jews for new jobs in their future homelands. Jews in Germany who were more than 45 years old could either emigrate or remain in Germany. If they decided to remain, they would be exempt from discriminatory restrictions. They would be able to live and work wherever they wanted. Their social security would be guaranteed by the Reich government, the same as for any German citizen. As

Rublee later noted, there were practically no incidents against Jews during the time between the signing of the agreement and the outbreak of war in September 1939.

The Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration, which was organized shortly after the Crystal Night, was based on the provisions of the Rublee plan. A parallel Jewish organization, the Reich Union of Jews in Germany ("Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland"), was established. Its task was to advise Jews on all questions of emigration and to act on behalf of Jews with the Reich Central Office. The two agencies worked closely together to facilitate Jewish emigration as much as possible. In addition, the SS and certain other National Socialist organizations worked with Zionist organizations to facilitate Jewish emigration. Jewish groups greatly appreciated the cooperation of the SS. For example, the SS established training centers where prospective Jewish emigrants learned new job skills to prepare them for their new lives.

With the help of the Transfer Agreement and the Rublee plan, hundreds of thousands of Jews migrated from Europe to Palestine. In September 1940 the Jewish news agency in Palestine, "Palcor," reported that 500,000 Jewish emigrants had already arrived from the German Reich, including Austria, the Sudetenland, Bohemia-Moravia, and German-ruled Poland. Nevertheless, after 1950 it was claimed that the total number of Jewish emigrants to Palestine from all European countries was only about 80,000. What happened to the other 420,000 Jews? In 1940 they probably had no idea that later on they were supposed to have been "gassed"!

Conclusion

I have tried to point out just a few unmentioned aspects of the Crystal Night issue which, in my opinion, give a picture of what actually happened that is entirely different than the one generally accepted. I am convinced that neither the German government nor the leaders of the National Socialist Party instigated the Crystal Night. Ultimately it was not the Jews but the Germans who suffered most as a result of this event. Even persons sympathetic to National Socialism are still appalled when they think of the Crystal Night. Many are under the impression that murder and arson were quite common under National Socialism and that no Jew could be sure of his life or property. Nazi Germany was supposedly a country without any civil rights. The Crystal Night incident was indeed one of the darkest episodes of German history in the era of 1933 to 1945. But based on all of the available evidence, these demonstrations were neither thought up nor organized by

German Party or government officials. In fact, they were completely suprised and shocked when they learned of the riot and destruction. The pogrom must have been thought up and organized by those who actually benefited from it and who wanted to create havoc in Germany.

Who could they have been? If we keep in mind the deep involvement of the Jewish organization LICA in the murder of vom Rath, we may ask: Could the Jews themselves have hoped to benefit from a pogrom? In the aftermath of the Crystal Night, the world press became overwhelmingly sympathetic to the Jews, which is precisely what they wanted above all else. The Zionists in particular counted on worldwide support in their struggle against England, which then ruled Palestine as a British mandate. Jewish immigration to Palestine was strictly limited at that time by the British because of vehement Arab opposition to the arrival of ever larger numbers of Jews. As a result, the number of Jewish immigrants dropped in 1938 to the lowest level since the beginning of the century, when the Zionist mass migration to Palestine began.

To stabilize the situation, the British formulated a partition plan dividing Palestine into Arab and Jewish portions. Despite serious reservations, the Jews agreed to the plan, but the Arabs did not. They responded with an uprising known as the Arab Revolt. In March 1938 the British government sent Sir Harold MacMichaels as High Commissioner to Palestine. He succeeded in suppressing the uprising, but to appease the Arabs he promised to urge his government to abandon the partition plan and halt further Jewish immigration. MacMichaels returned to London in October 1938 to discuss his proposals with the British parliament. The scheduled date for the final decision was 8 November 1938, the day on which the Crystal Night violence actually began.

German Embassy Secretary Ernst vom Rath had been shot just one day earlier, on 7 November. The conspirators no doubt hoped that vom Rath would die immediately, in which case the anti-Jewish demonstrations would probably have also started on the 7th. Could someone have hoped that a pogrom in nearby Germany would influence the British to change their Palestine policy? Or that it would induce the outside world to exert pressure on Britain to open Palestine to the Jews who were being so terribly treated in Germany? I cannot give any definite answers. I can only speculate as to who conspirators behind the Crystal Night really were and as to their motives. To me it seems entirely plausible that certain Jewish groups were involved. The LICA was almost certainly involved in the murder of vom Rath. In any case, the Crystal Night incident was not an expression of the will of the German people. Nor was it organized by Dr. Goebbels or any of the other German leaders. On the contrary, it was carefully organized by people who worked in the shadows.

Notes

1. William P. Varga, *The Number One Nazi Jew-Baiter: A Political Biography of Julius Streicher* (New York: 1981).
2. Even Helmut Heiber, a prominent contemporary German historian, had to admit these facts. Helmut Heiber, "Der Fall Gruenspan," *Vierteljahrshefte fuer Zeitgeschichte*, 5. Hg., 1957, pp. 154-172.
3. See: Werner Feilchenfeld, Dolf Michaelis, and Ludwig Pinner, *Haavara-Transfer nach Palaestina* (Tuebingen: 1972); and, Edwin Black, *The Transfer Agreement* (New York and London: 1984)
4. Ingrid Weckert, *Feuerzeichen: Die "Reichskristallnacht," Anstifter und Brandstifter—Opfer und Nutzniesser* (Tuebingen: 1981), p. 225.
5. Edwin Black, *The Transfer Agreement*, p. 382.
6. W. Feilchenfeld, et al., *Haavara-Transfer Nach Palaestina*, p. 71.
7. Nahum Goldmann, *Das Juedische Paradox: Zionismus und Judentum nach Hitler* (Cologne: 1978), p. 181.
8. Heinemann Stern, *Warum Hassen Sie Uns Eigentlich?* (Duesseldorf: 1970), pp. 298-299.
9. Hermann Graml, *Der 9. November 1938* (Bonn: 1958), p. 47 f.
10. H. Heiber, "Der Fall Gruenspan," p. 164.
11. H. Heiber, "Der Fall Gruenspan," p. 172.
12. Gideon Hausner, *Justice in Jerusalem* (New York: 1968), p. 41.

Nationalism and Genocide: The Origin of the Artificial Famine of 1932–1933 in Ukraine

VALENTYN MOROZ

(Paper Presented to the Sixth International Revisionist Conference)

An indicative feature of the mass media's portrayal of modern history is the striking contrast between the heavy volume of "Holocaust" material and the silent treatment given to the appalling record of Soviet mass slaughter, even though the number of Stalin's victims alone vastly exceeds even the most exaggerated figures of alleged "Holocaust" victims. While names like Auschwitz, Buchenwald and Dachau have been unforgettably engraved into our collective consciousness, few Americans recognize Vorkuta, Kolyma, or any of the many other Soviet camps where at least twenty million people are conservatively estimated to have perished. And whereas Americans have been taught to instantly recognize the name of Heinrich Himmler, hardly anyone has heard of Soviet secret police chiefs Nikolai Yezhov or Genrikh Yagoda, each of whom murdered many more people, and in less time, than Himmler is reputed to have killed.

The gruesome record is well documented. Nobel prize-winning author Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn has detailed the horrors of the Soviet concentration camp system, which held up to fifteen million prisoners at a time. In **The Great Terror**, *British historian Robert Conquest cautiously estimated the number of Stalin's political victims at 20 to 30 million. (Stalin once privately admitted to Churchill that some ten million kulaks had been killed for resisting the confiscation of their farms.) In* **Stalin's Secret War**, *Nikolai Tolstoy ex-*

poses as a fraud the official Soviet claim, widely parroted by the Western media, that 20 million Soviet citizens were killed by the Axis during the Second World War. Tolstoy demonstrates that most of those 20 million were actually victims of the Soviet regime. Russian historian Anton Antonov-Ovseyenko estimates in ***A Time of Stalin*** *that the Soviet rulers have killed more than eighty million of their own people to keep themselves in power.*

Stalin's single most horrific campaign was probably the organized mass starvation of 1932–1933, which he used as a weapon to totally crush peasant resistance to the forced collectivization of agriculture. Soviet military units confiscated all available food in vast areas, condemning the inhabitants to death by hunger. As Conquest points out, this is perhaps the only case in history of a purely man-made famine. He estimates that the campaign claimed five to six million lives, including more than three million Ukrainians. Other historians have put the number of Ukrainian famine victims at six or even seven million. An important new work on this subject is Miron Dolot's moving memoir, ***Execution by Hunger: The Hidden Holocaust*** *(W.W. Norton, 1985, available from IHR, $18.00), which includes a valuable introduction by Adam Ulam.*

In the following essay, Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz dissects the origins of the imposed famine of 1932–1933. He takes exception to the generally accepted view that the campaign was carried out for purely socio-economic reasons, and holds instead that the decisive motivation was Moscow's need to maintain the multinational Soviet Russian empire. Stalin destroyed the independent Ukrainian peasantry, Moroz writes, because it was the foundation and lifespring of Ukrainian nationalism. (Mark Weber)

In 1921, at the 10th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, it was resolved that the country's non-Russian nations (nationalities) required assistance:[1]

> a) to develop and strengthen locally Soviet statehood in such forms as are applicable to the national and social conditions of these nations;
>
> b) to develop and strengthen locally, in their native languages, the legal system, administrative and economic organs, and government organs, consisting of local people who are acquainted with the living conditions and mentality of the local population;
>
> c) to develop locally the press, schools, the theater, social clubs, and all cultural and educational institutions in their native languages;
>
> d) to create and develop a wide spectrum of courses and education institutions in both the humanities and the technical and professional fields in their native languages . . .

Thus began the policy known as "korenizatsiia" or "return to the roots," which is an instructive and very interesting phenomenon in the history of the modern Russian empire. In Ukraine this policy became known as "ukrainizatsiia" or "Ukrainianization." In fact, this term was widely used in official documents during the 1920s. The Edict of 1923 described Ukrainianization with these words:[2]

> . . . The people's government acknowledges the necessity . . . of concentrating the attention of the state in the near future on broadening the knowledge of the Ukrainian language. The formal equality of the two most widely used languages in Ukraine—Ukrainian and Russian—has so far been insufficient. The processes of life, as experience has indicated, in reality favor the predominance of Russian. To remove this inequality the government will implement a series of practical measures which, while guaranteeing the equality of every language used on Ukrainian territory, must safeguard a position for Ukrainian corresponding to the size and strength of the Ukrainian nation on the territory of the Ukrainian nation on the territory of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

These days there is a tendency to regard this policy of Ukrainianization as a tactical ploy by Moscow to expose and destroy all patriotic Ukrainians. This is an extreme view. Obviously, Moscow had tactical considerations in introducing this policy. But it should be understood that Moscow was forced to adopt this policy. The impulse behind Ukrainianization came from far beyond the walls of the Kremlin and emerged from quite different sources.

The Revolution of 1917 stimulated a powerful renaissance among the non-Russian nations of the Russian empire and this process continued even after these peoples were militarily subdued by the Soviet Russian forces. National development found means of self-expression even under the conditions of Soviet rule. While the facts and figures of the expansion of Ukrainainization are of interest for their own sake, even more interesting is the story of how the people involved found the means of carrying out this process of national development under the conditions of totalitarian one-party rule. This was possible because a kind of second political party, which was never proclaimed and formalized as such, existed during the 1920s. This alternate party was private enterprise.

The 10th Congress of the Communist Party symbolically announced the introduction of the "new economic policy" or NEP in 1921 and shortly thereafter was also forced to proclaim the "korenizatsiia" policy of a return to native roots. New opportunities for private enterprise in economic life automatically also brought about a national renaissance among the non-Russian peoples. The "new economic policy" (NEP) not only meant a total change in economic life but in social and cultural life as a whole. Private entrepreneurs began demolishing totalitarianism in countless different ways. A shop owner operating his own business or a doctor with his own practice quickly became independent of the commissar with the red cloth on his table. They were soon also regarded as socially higher. And although these entrepreneurs had to recite the Communist slogans and jargon whenever required, the free market and not the Party came to govern their lives. Like the legendary genie suddenly released from his bottle, free enterprise spread swiftly.

This meant that, in practice, life became pluralistic, despite the protests of orthodox Communists concerned about the purity of party doctrine. And all this gave subconscious moral strength to the national movements. One felt able to "breathe" and express oneself at last. In Ukraine many associations of artists and writers were formed. An innovative and experimental theatrical life began to develop. In such conditions it was natural that legally sanctioned competition between the Ukrainian and Russian national influences would eventually develop. Among those who recognized this was Dmytro Lebed, who coined the theory of the "struggle between two cultures" in which the state should not intervene.

From the outset the Russians regarded Ukrainianization as a temporary political phenomenon and accordingly sought to make it a purely formal letter, not to be taken seriously. For example, during a certain party conference an economic administrator from an outlying district, after listening to resolutions on the necessity of having administrators use Ukrainian in their official work, began speaking to his district director in Ukrainian. To this the official replied in Russian: "Speak like a human being!" But despite such resistance, a virtual army of patriotic Ukrainian academics and other culturally and politically active individuals greatly furthered the process of Ukrainianization. Supporters of this process of national renaissance came into high and sometimes even key positions.

Because of Russian chauvinist resistance, Ukrainianization didn't really begun to develop until 1925. A 1927 letter from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine to the Communist International (Comintern) dealt with numerous "distortions" regarding the Ukrainianization process:[3]

> These distortions lie in the ignoring of and failure to value adequately the national question in Ukraine (which is frequently masked by internationalist phrases), particularly:
>
> 1) in the belittling of Ukraine's significance as a part of the USSR, in the attempt to interpret the creation of the USSR as the actual liquidation of the national republics;

> 2) in the instruction that the party remain neutral towards the development of Ukrainian culture, in the interpretation of it as backward and "rural" compared to Russian "proletarian" culture;
>
> 3) in the attempt to maintain at all costs the dominance of the Russian language in the governmental, social, and cultural life of Ukraine;
>
> 4) in the formalistic attitude towards the development of Ukrainianization, which is often acccepted only theoretically;
>
> 5) in the uncritical repetition of chauvinistic and imperialistic views about the so-called artificiality of Ukrainianization, the unintelligibility of the "Galician" language for the nation, and so forth, and in cultivation of these views within the party;
>
> 6) in the attempt to hinder the implementation of the policies of Ukrainianization in the towns and among the proletariat, confining it only to the villages;
>
> 7) in the frequent tendency to exaggerate isolated cases of distortion in the implementation of Ukrainianization, and in the attempt to portray these as an entire political system which violates the rights of national minorities (Russians, Jews, etc.).

It was characteristic of the time that the Communist Party of Ukraine could bypass the Central Committee in Russia and appeal directly to the Communist International, even though it was still a part of the all-encompassing "Soviet" Communist party. This is another indication of the pluralism and national self-expression which de facto manifested itself under conditions of Soviet rule, despite and in opposition to totalitarian doctrine.

The record shows that Ukrainianization was an important and very real development. Its impact may be compared to a torpedo exploding a dangerously threatening hole in the hull of the imperial ship of state. Millions of Ukrainian children were now being taught in Ukrainian. This was something for which several generations of Ukrainians had fought. In 1930 an astonishing 89 percent of the books published in Ukraine were printed in the Ukrainian language. That same year, the 11th Congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine reported:[4]

> . . . A turbulent increase in Ukrainianization is apparent among the proletariat, particularly among its chief groups. Along with this there is an indisputable and systematic increase in the number of Ukrainians in the proletariat. . . . During the past three years the number of people who can read, write, and speak in Ukrainian has greatly increased. . . . The professional associations of Ukraine should take it upon themselves, as leaders of the masses, to ensure the availability of cultural services in Ukrainian for the working masses and also to make certain that the movement inspires the workers towards cultural and national development. . . .
>
> These three elements—the schools, the press, and the Ukrainianization of the proletariat—are a strong base which will guarantee a rapid and unprecedented development of a Ukrainian culture which is national in form and proletarian in content.

All this created unease in Moscow, where it was understood that the continuation of this process would eventually mean the end of Russian hegemony in Ukraine. Two tendencies became apparent during the years of Ukrainianization which raised ominous questions about the future of the Russian empire.

Firstly, the major role of the village in the process of Ukrainianization became obvious. The village had long been recognized as the conserving bastion of national traditions. But now it was also clearly a powerful impetus for Ukrainianization in the towns and cities as well. The most talented Ukrainian national authors and cultural leaders of the 1920s were from the villages, which provided a solid base of some forty million people for the development of Ukrainianization. Ukrainian blood from the villages flowed into the veins of new Ukrainian social and cultural institutions developing in the cities. As these structures grew visibly stronger it became increasingly evident that this powerful and turbulent stream would eventually sweep aside all Russian influence. Joseph Stalin, the most important Bolshevik theoretician on the national question, clearly understood the crucial importance of the village in this process. In a speech to the 10th Soviet Communist Party Congress in 1921 he pointed out:[5]

> It is obvious that although the Russian element is still predominant in Ukrainian cities, within a short period of time these cities will doubtlessly be Ukrainianized. Forty years ago Riga was a German city, but because the village population moves to the cities and determines their character, Riga is now a Latvian city. Fifty years ago every city in Hungary had a German character, but now each is Hungarian. *The same can be said for the cities of Ukraine because the village population will move to the cities.* The village is the representative of the Ukrainian language and this language will penetrate every Ukrainian city and there become the dominant language.

Secondly, a clear distinction developed between archaic and modern nationalism. The first could express itself only in traditional and limited forms. It was thus able to co-exist for many years within a colonial structure, within the framework of an alien empire, and dominated by a foreign dynasty. In contrast, the modern form of nationalism was aggressive and dynamic, intolerant of colonial structures and inclined to demolish them. It was characterized by an alliance of the village and a national intelligentsia which emerged from native ethnic roots. (This modern form of nationalism brought down the European colonial empires in Asia and Africa during the 1940s and 1950s, and was accompanied by major conflicts and social upheaval.)

The process of Ukrainianization during the 1920s gave birth to a concept which had the potential of becoming an umbrella or screen behind which meaningful Ukrainian nationalism could develop under the new conditions of Soviet rule. This concept was best formulated by the writer Mykola Khvyloviy, who coined the slogans "Away from Russia!" and "We can do without a Russian conductor." Even the titles of his essays (such as "Russian Slops") convey the new atmosphere and direction which emerged from Ukrainianization. With this concept, Ukrainian cultural, social and even political development could be furthered using acceptable "proletarian" jargon. In his polemical dispute with Russian newspapers, Khvyloviy wrote:[6]

> Today, as Ukrainian poetry follows its own direction, Moscow is no longer able to tempt it with baubles. . . . And this is not because this or that Ukrainain participant in the dispute is more talented than this or that Russian (God forbid!) but because the Ukrainian reality is more complex than the Russian, because we have before us different tasks, because we are the young class of a young nation, because our literature is young. . . .
>
> Because our literature has at last found its own path of development, the question now lies before us: Which of the world's literatures should we follow? In any case, not Russian literature. That is absolutely crucial. We must not confuse our political union with literature. Ukrainian poetry must move away from Russian literature and its influence as soon as possible. The Poles would never have given us Mickiewicz if their orientation towards Russian art had not ceased. The fact is that Russian literature has been weighing us down for centuries, like a master who has trained our mentality into slave-like imitation. So, to feed our young art with Russian literature is to restrain its development. We are aware of proletarian ideas without the help of Russian art. To the contrary, we, as representatives of a young nation, will more easily sense these ideas and will more quickly recreate them in suitable works of art. We will orient ourselves towards western European art, towards its style and methods.
>
> We have philosophized enough. Let us at last use our guide. We do so not with the intention of harnassing our art to yet another foreign wagon, but in order to free it from the suffocating atmosphere of backwardness. We will go to Europe to learn, but in a few years we will return burning with a new light. Do you hear what we want, Moscow-lovers with your Russian slops? So, death to the Dostoyevskys! Let us begin a cultural renaissance!

It is also characteristic of the time that Khvyloviy came from a Russified milieu. This itself was his inspiration. Khvyloviy, who had been named Fitilov, knew from personal experience the swamp-like world of Russified Ukrainians. He thus knew best how to fight against it. The most effective preacher is a Saul converted into a Paul.

As Moscow watched, new institutions were developing which were both Communist and Ukrainian. Along with others, Khvyloviy exclaimed: "We are aware of proletarian ideas without the help of Russian art." The next and inevitable stage in the realization of the slogan "Away from Russia!" would have been the political separation of Ukraine from Russia. And that would have meant the collapse of the Russian empire. As everyone realized, Russia without Ukraine would automatically be reduced to the small realm (khanate) of Moscovy it had once been in the 16th century before Tsar Peter I.

The successful development of Ukrainianization (and of parallel national developments in other Soviet republics) was not limited to literary life. The non-Russian nations of the USSR chalked up other important achievements which threatened Russian hegemony. One was the establishment of "native" (territorial) armies. Out of a total of 17 army divisions based in Ukraine in the late 1920s, eight were "native" divisions consisting almost entirely of Ukrainians. These divisions also used Ukrainian as the language of communication and military command. Ukrainian was also the language of instruction in some military schools. Other non-Russian peoples had similar military formations. There were two Byelorussian divisions, two Georgian, and one Armenian, as well as one Tatar regiment, one Tadzhik regiment, and so forth. National non-Russian educational systems also developed. Under the direction of the Ukrainian minister of education, Hryhory Hrynko, an educational system developed in Ukraine which differed in every way from the Russian form. In economic life Volobuyev introduced the concept by which Ukraine would develop a national economy separate from Russia. And so it went in every sphere of Ukrainian life.

Moscow understood that if this process was allowed to continue for another decade the Soviet Russian empire would break up along national lines, much as the Austro-Hungarian empire had at the end of the First World War. The Kremlin rulers realized another essential reality: the empire could only be held together with totalitarianism. And that meant totalitarianism in every sphere of life. Only absolute state power could guarantee a unified empire. Although Russian chauvinistic opposition to the Ukrainian renaissance never completely disappeared, it was ineffective during the 1920s for two reasons. Firstly, private enterprise automatically brought with it pluralism in other spheres of life. It was comparable to fresh rain falling on the young shoots of the national movement. Secondly, the national awakening unleashed by the revolution of 1917 burgeoned during the decade of the 1920s.

The historical pendulum began to swing in a different direction at the close of the 1920s. The energy of the national renaissance was depleted, indicating the beginning of a decline. The regrouped imperial forces sensed that the time had come to strike back. Their revenge took three forms: 1) The elimination of private property in the villages and the imposition of totalitarian agriculture in the form of the collective farm ("kolhosp" or, in Russian, "kolkhoz"); 2) The uprooting of private enterprise in industry and trade; 3) The annihilation of pluralism in the arts. All cultural associations were replaced by unitary cultural unions, one each for writers, artists, journalists, and so forth.

The crucial essence of this program was the annihilation of the traditional village structure which had always been the nation's foundation. Stalin recognized the key role of the village in the movement for national liberation. "The village is the major army in a national movement," he wrote. "Without the village the movement becomes impossible. This is what we mean when we say that the national question is, in effect, the village question."[7]

In planning the artificial famine of 1933, Moscow sought to strike a fatal blow at the village structure, not because it was socially troublesome or economically disadvantageous, but because it was the lifespring and resource foundation of the vital national spirit. Postishev, who was sent to Ukraine in 1933 as Moscow's plenipotentiary, stated this clearly: "The mistakes and oversight of the Communist Party of Ukraine in the realization of the nationalities policy of the party was one of the major reasons for the collapse of agriculture in 1931–1932."[8]

This one sentence is enough to show that the national question triggered the catastrophe of 1933. The Plenum in 1933 and the 12th Congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine in January 1934 both declared that "the greatest danger in Ukraine is local Ukrainian nationalism."[9] This marked a turning point in the Kremlin's nationalities policy. Until then the greatest danger in the nationalities question was officially "Russian imperialistic chauvinism." At the 12th Congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Postishev declared that "1933 was the year of the defeat of Ukrainian nationalist counter-revolution."[10] Moscow thus regarded the catastrophe of 1933 as an aspect of the struggle against Ukrainian national renaissance. The village and national aspects of this catastrophe were closely interconnected. In the spring of 1933, when millions of Ukrainian villagers were starving to death, Soviet forces carried out mass executions across Ukraine. Two population groups were targeted for extermination: the intelligentsia and Ukrainain Communists who had once belonged to other parties. The census figures of 1926 and 1939 indicate that the Ukrainian population decreased by ten percent during this period, while the number of Russians increased by 27 percent.[11] The reason for this startling contrast was explained by a witness of the 1933 famine: "There were two villages on the border between the Ukrainain Soviet Socialist Republic and the

Russian Soviet Socialist Republic. On the Ukrainian side everything was taken away, on the Russian side there were normal corn taxes and everything went according to plan. The Ukrainians climbed onto the roofs of passing trains and traveled to Russia to buy bread."[12]

Historians have concluded that Ukraine lost 80 percent of its creative intelligentsia during the decade of the 1930s.[13] Thus, Ukrainian culture suffered even more acutely than Ukrainian village life. While 80 percent of the books published in Ukraine in 1930 were printed in Ukrainian, in 1934 this figure had fallen to only 59 percent.[14] At the 11th Congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine in 1930 there was talk of "the turbulent rise of Ukrainialization" and of the necessity for its continuation. In 1934, at the 12th Congress quite a different tone prevailed:[15]

> Before the November Plenum alone, 248 counter-revolutionaries, nationalists, spies and class enemies—among them 48 enemies who were party members—were exposed and expelled from Ukrainian research institutes and the Ministry of Education. Since then, many more of these people have been unmasked. For example, not long ago, in December, we were compelled to close down the Bahaliy Research Institute of History and Culture because we discovered that this institute, like numerous other academic organizations (such as the Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopaedia and the Shevchenko Institute where Pylypenko was administrator), was a nest of counter-revolution.

A key question in this entire issue is this: To what extent were the repressions of the 1930s carried out for socio-economic reasons? Certainly the social and economic motivations behind this policy of repression cannot be ignored or overlooked. But these motivations must be understood within historical context. Although these repressions were social in application, they were carried out primarily to preserve Russian imperial power.

The central thesis of this essay is that socio-economic considerations played only an instrumental and auxiliary role in the policy of repression of the 1930s. The drastic socio-economic changes of this period were motivated primarily by the desire to maintain Russian imperial hegemony and only secondarily by economic considerations. In the struggle between orthodox dogmatists and pragmatists within the Communist party in the early 1930s, the defenders of doctrine were victorious. At the same time, however, the momentum of their attack against the pragmatists gave them their imperialistic and chauvinistic impulse.

The history of the Soviet system until the Second World War is normally divided into three phases: 1) Military Communism, 1917–1921; 2) Temporary tactical retreat in the form of the NEP, 1921–1929; 3) Further development of Communism according to

Marxist doctrine, from 1929. However, few historians have considered that the characteristics of the third phase are hardly pragmatic.

I would describe these three phases somewhat differently. The first phase may be called a naive Communist experiment. During this period of military Communism the principle of private enterprise was totally extinguished. The new Soviet state confiscated as much of the villagers' production as it desired. (In practice this was usually as much as it could find.) A black market operated and without it life could not have continued even though officially it was illegal even to sell one's own shoes. The economy quickly fell into chaos. Suffice it to mention that only one blast furnace was functioning in Ukraine in 1921.

It was obvious that this "pure Communism" would soon result in the total collaspe of the new system unless the new Soviet rulers recovered quickly from their "orthodox" intoxication. The abrupt turn to pragmatism in 1921 proved effective. This NEP phase permitted extensive private enterprise in agriculture and other aspects of economic life. It ended in 1929 with a sharp return to the collectivized system. This change has been generally regarded as a return to Marxist orthodoxy after a temporary retreat. However, this view is erroneous. The socio-economic policy of the 1930s was not a return to "pure" Communist orthodoxy. It was rather *a synthesis of the principle of collectivization and pragmatism dictated by exclusively imperial interests.*

The Communism described in Marx's *Das Kapital* is not realistic. As with any ideology, Communism in practice must take into consideration concrete national interests. The first Soviet phase of military Communism was only an experiment. The new Soviet rulers believed that the mythical "world revolution" and the utopian ideal of Communism would quickly usher in a worldwide proletarian paradise. These fantasies utterly ignored national considerations. The second NEP phase was a concession forced by individualistic and national factors. Only in the third phase was Communism integrated with Russian national interests. Marxist doctrine was adapted to the needs of the "Third Rome" (Moscow). (A similar process occured in China. After a series of uprooting experiments, a variant form of Communism was finally developed which might successfully serve Chinese imperial interests.)

A careful study of the Soviet collective farm system makes clear that it is not consistent with pure Communist doctrine. While the land and all agricultural implements are group property, houses, gardens, chickens, pigs, cows and many other items remained the property of individual villagers. In urban areas individuals continue to own such basic items as homes, holiday houses, and automobiles.

Beginning with the Stalin era, the Soviet system has been characterized by an ongoing combination of the collectivization principle and pragmatism. However, the nature of this pragmatism is not at all economic. If economic considerations were paramount, Moscow would long ago have disbanded the collective farms and reintroduced private enterprise in economic life. The collective farm system has brought Soviet agriculture to its knees and the Soviet economy has still not recovered from the chronic depression caused by Stalin's drastic experiments during the 1930s. Soviet pragmatism is thus dictated by imperial and not economic interests. The relationship between the principle of collectivization and pragmatism is adjusted according to the interests of the empire. The collective farm worker category is not a socioeconomic category as much as it an imperial category, similar to the "colon" class of the late Roman era. If villagers live according to the principles of individual self-reliance and private enterprise, they maintain a vital national awareness. This consciousness makes the collapse of any empire inevitable. Imperial self-interest necessitates the destruction of the villagers' traditional way of life. The villager is transformed into a "proletarian" who is neither tied to his land nor to his national heritage. Such rootless people easily lose touch with their native localities and migrate to the endless wastes of Siberia or Kazakhstan—from one end of the empire to the other—in search of higher wages. Moscow's intention has been to assimilate the non-Russian half of the Soviet empire. It is also interesting to note that even during the worst economic periods of Soviet rule, there has always been sufficient liquor available in the stores. This is one Soviet product which has never been in short supply. In destroying national consciousness, liquor has been as important as official Soviet propaganda. It's not difficult to persuade a drunk "proletarian" that as far as his national heritage is concerned "What's the difference?".

The collective farms are essential to the Soviet system, not because of Marxist economic doctrine (Yugoslavia gets along without them), but to maintain the empire. It is the Soviet Russian empire and not Communist orthodoxy that bans private enterprise. This is a key fact in understanding the nature of the Soviet system.

Thus, economic principles are ignored in favor of imperial interests. Not even the catastrophic economic consequences of this policy induce Moscow to change. Accordingly, the orthodox "purity" of Marxism has been abandoned. Of course, Soviet textbooks and newspapers repetitiously insist that everything is advancing "according to Marxist principles." But whoever has the patience to read past the third page of Marx's *Das Kapital* (almost no one in the Soviet Union has done so) realizes that the Kremlin ignores numerous Marxist principles. One example is the notion of "the total collapse of capitalism" which has not occured as Marx "scientifically" predicted. Another is the Leninist thesis that the Soviet Union would not require a standing army (only a limited "people's militia"), nor secret diplomacy, and so forth. These things are never mentioned in the USSR. While using Communist slogans for its own ends, the Soviet Russian empire has simply discarded everything about Communism which might prove advantageous to the non-Russian peoples.

The introduction of the collectivization and industrialization programs at the end of the 1920s meant that the empire once again held the reins of power tightly in its hands. During the chaos of the revolution these reins were temporarily torn from its control. State policy shifted in different directions during the 1920s in response to various forces. But when Moscow recovered and fully realized the situation, it once again adapted to the needs of the empire.

Although the impetus for the repressions of the 1930s is widely considered to have been socio-economic, often even by those who made policy, the real motivation behind the repression was a subconscious and unexpressed need to preserve the imperial system. The imperial instinct prompted the concrete social forms of the repression as well as the kind of totalitarianism which could be effective during the 1930s. If there had been no pressing imperial interests or Russian chauvinism, the repressions of the 1930s would have been only a tenth as severe. This is shown by comparing the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 and the Armenian massacre of 1915. Foreigners who were in Petrograd in late 1917 were astonished at how little blood was shed in the Bolshevik seizure of power. When one class fights another, many shots are fired but few people are killed. In contrast, an estimated two million Armenians were slaughtered in 1915 in an effort by the Turkish (Ottoman) empire to put an end to the Armenian national question. It is estimated that one half of the Armenian nation was murdered.

These elementary analogies are enough to show that the murder of seven million Ukrainians in 1933 could not have been motivated by socio-economic or "class" reasons alone. Conflicts claim millions of victims only in struggles between nations, as in wars, colonial struggles, and so forth, when the national question is paramount. Moscow needed a holocaust. The imposed famine of 1933 and the whole range of repressive mass killings during the 1930s were an expression of the empire's struggle for self-preservation. It was this instinct, and not the economic doctrine of collectivization, which impelled the Kremlin to carry out the horrors of the 1930s. No one can say how "real" socialist economics are supposed to work in practice. For example, Sweden calls itself a socialist society and some regard it as a model of socialism. But Sweden has never abolished private enterprise. And although Poland has been under complete Soviet domination since 1945, collectivized agriculture has never been introduced there.

An article entitled "The Ethnocide of the Ukrainians in the USSR," signed by pseudonym Maksym Sahaydak, appeared in 1974 in the underground journal *Ukrainian News*. After quoting from Stalin's speech to the 10th Soviet Communist Party Congress of 1921, predicting that the cities of the Ukraine will inevitably become Ukrainianized, the author concludes: "The invaders dreaded this as they would an inferno and they still dread it today. Bolshevik Moscow, headed by 'the father of all nations' (Stalin) did everything it could to stop the Ukrainian city from becoming Ukrainianized. This was the central reason for the famine in Ukraine in 1932 and 1933."[16]

From a historical perspective the year 1933 in the history of the Russian empire is analogous to 1848 in the Austrian empire, when the rulers in Vienna preserved the realm from dissolution by taking effective measures to repress the centrifugal national movements. This was the last great convulsion and the last effective effort for self-preservation before the final earthquake in 1918 brought about the collapse of the Habsburg empire.

Notes

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3. *Dva roky roboty. Zvit Tsentralnoho Komitetu KP (b) U.* (Kharkiv [Kharkov]: 1927), pp. 57-58.
4. *XI zyizd KP (b)U. Stenohrafichnyj zvit* (Kharkiv; 1930), pp. 737-738.
5. *X zyezd RKP(b). Stenohraficheskyj otchet* (Moscow: 1963), p. 213.
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10. *Chrevonyj Shlach* (Kharkiv: 1934), 2-3, p. 165.
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12. I. M-ko (I. Maystrenko), *Do 25 richiia holodu 1933-ho roku.* (Munich: Vpered, 1958), 7(92), p. 1.
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A Challenge to Thought Control: The Historiography of Leon Degrelle

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(Paper Presented to the Sixth International Revisionist Conference)

It has been often said that the first casualty of war is truth. Belligerents have always had their own versions of history, particularly with regard to responsibility for wars. And yet certain basic facts and events have not been totally suppressed, if only due to the lack of total media technology and control. Roman statesmen never hid their intense hostility towards Carthage, yet historians have been able to produce rather reliable accounts of the Punic wars. Rome was the absolute military victor, but does not appear completely blameless and righteous in history books. Although Carthage was utterly destroyed by Rome, the feats of Hannibal were duly recorded, his heroism and his integrity were not denied, his character was not assassinated, his genius was not called madness and his motives were understood and respected in the context of his duty to his country.

For four thousand years historians were rather able to keep track of human events. Despite the triumph of victorious nations, the vanquished were not eternally execrated. If the victor was particularly vindictive, honest historians might have to maintain discreet, low profile research for a time but they were eventually able to record the facts without fear of retribution. Defeated nations were not prevented from rendering their versions of history. Historians, like accountants, could gather facts and figures as well as give their own interpretations.

The phenomenon of distorting or suppressing facts from the historical ledger is relatively recent. In conjunction with forced military conscription and absolutist ideology, it first appeared with the advent of the French Revolution.

While the *ancien regime* tolerated even those who were determined to abolish it, and men like Voltaire, Rousseau, and Montesquieu were feted in the royal salons, the French revolutionaries stamped out dissent with the guillotine. Suspected opponents of the revolutionary regime were simply put to death.

Historians were among the first victims of this democratic reign of terror. Millions were murdered and historical truth became a casualty. Fortunately for the world, Danton, Marat, and Robespierre did not prevail, but instead fell victim to their own terror.

It proved only a short respite. The virus was out of the bottle. During the nineteenth century, many tyrants and would-be tyrants became infected. Yet truth, or at least diversity of opinion, survived in countries not subjected to ideological tyranny.

Marat's ideological heirs, nurtured by the teachings of Marx and Engels, took control of Russia in 1917. Another major country fell under the absolutist rule of ideological fanatics. Once again historians became victims. Events were erased from memory, "facts" were invented, and whole classes of people were exterminated or classified as non-persons in the re-written history books produced for the new Soviet man. Recalcitrant historians were quickly liquidated as counter revolutionaries or anti-Semites.[1] Nevertheless, the facts about this modern-age tyranny filtered out and Western historians were able to record them.[2]

Tyranny took a quantum leap between 1917 and the present. What the French and Marxist revolutions were not able to accomplish—namely, control of history to perpetuate their own regimes—has become the norm around the world. The wartime alliance of the Anglo-American Allies and Soviet Russia did not make the Kremlin's rulers more democratic. Instead, the "democratic" Allies accepted the practices of Soviet tyranny.

For the first time in history virtually the entire world found itself subjected to the same tyrannical ideology, including a common version of modern history. Gone were the sanctuaries of countries where dissident historians could take refuge to record history or wait until passions had abated. Even the freedom of historians of the defeated countries to write history from the perspective of the vanquished disappeared. The victorious Second World War alliance stopped the clock of history in 1945, unconditionally and universally.

It is certainly not without irony that the joint triumph of the Soviet Union and the Anglo-American democracies over Germany, all in the name of peace, freedom and democracy, should have ushered in a dark era of intellectual tyranny. An era dawned during which anyone daring to express dissident opinions did so at the risk of his life and livelihood. Never before has absolute dogma been so widely imposed around the globe.

It is this exclusivist historical perspective of Marxism, Capitalism, and Zionism which has kept the world in intellectual darkness during the last forty years. Revisionist historians are hounded around the world by the new grand inquisitors of this intolerant dogma.

More than any other country, Germany remains an occupied and divided land under illegitimate governments with legal prohibitions against even modest challenges to the official dogma.

Since 1945 laws have multiplied in many countries to punish recalcitrant historians. And if legal measures fail, inflammatory and lying propaganda produced by modern media technology is used.

But in spite of murder, arson and persecution of every possible kind, the powerful forces of repression and obscurantism have not completely extinguished the spark of freedom. In fact, forty years of persecution have made its defenders stronger and more determined than ever that truth and freedom shall prevail. The annual revisionist conferences sponsored by the Institute for Historical Review are a manifestation of the indomitable spirit of human freedom.

It is ironic indeed that our persecutors behave in a worse fashion than the "Nazis" they execrate. In fact, they have imposed upon the world all the evils, and then some, that they accuse National Socialist Germany of perpetrating. The roles have been completely reversed: the allegedly persecuted are the real persecutors. The historical truth, of course, is that Germany has been viciously oppressed since the First World War onwards, and that those historians who have attempted to set the record straight have likewise been persecuted.

Although historical revisionism is not at all limited to the Second World War era, it has been necessary to emphasize this critical period because the total falsification of modern history was imposed by the Soviets and their wartime democratic Allies. For the past forty years they have controlled historiography to perpetuate their rule through an absolutist worldwide ideology. They operate according to the Orwellian axiom: "Who controls the past controls the future. Who controls the present controls the past."

Today, however, defenders of First Amendment rights and general freedom of speech have joined with historians to battle for the basic right to express oneself without fear of sanctions.

As the falsifiers openly admit, their greatest fear is historical revisionism. They have thus also revealed their greatest weakness: the scrutiny of revisionist historians. It is a matter of constant amazement that the historical falsifiers do not rebut revisionism with facts but with abuse, threats or punishment. The normal exchange of scholarly information common to other intellectual disciplines has also been absent.

The challenge to the tyranny of worldwide thought control has been issued. After four decades of lies, we say: Enough. We can be grateful that the United States is still a bastion where freedom of expression has not been legally eradicated, but time is running out. If today historians are muzzled by denial of their First Amendment rights, who may be next? The freedom of us all is at stake.

The imperative of historians to tell the truth is inextricably linked to freedom of speech. It is a dual role and a dual burden which we cannot shirk. At the same time it is a unique and tremendous opportunity to unravel the falsifications that have held the world captive since 1945.

It would have been of benefit to history if the central figure of the Second World War, Adolf Hitler, had been retired like Napoleon, to write his memoirs and answer the questions of history. The contrast between the way Napoleon and Hitler were treated following their defeats is a measure of how far the world has fallen into totalitarian tyranny.

Defeat on the battlefield cost Napoleon his throne, but he kept his life and honor. To this day he is honored as a personality of prominence in the country he once ruled as well as in the world. In contrast, for Hitler military defeat meant annihilation in a war of total destruction. This pitiless hostility began during the First World War and was institutionalized by the Versailles Treaty. The time is gone when the ultimate price a leader had to pay for military defeat was the loss of his power and prestige.

The Soviets and their democratic allies, who introduced the concept of total war, unconditional surrender and unconditional hatred, have institutionalized bigotry and retribution on a macabre and perpetual basis. This fanatical stance has brought historical inquiry to a standstill.

The corrosive legacy of censorship and suppression will only end if there is free debate, inquiry, research, and scrutiny. The perspective of the vanquished must be given—not by Nuremberg inquisitors—but by those who actually made history on the other side. The academic world and the general public are entitled to examine both sides of the Hitler era.

More than 200,000 books have been written since 1945 about the Second World War, but have they let us know the authentic story?

For example, only a handful of those who had any personal knowledge of Hitler have written about the man. Unfortunately, their ability to tell the truth has been subordinate to their primary obligation for sheer survival.

The Institute for Historical Review believes that the time has now come to understand the man who was the central figure of the most momentous era of modern history: Adolf Hitler. Unfortunately for historians, Hitler and all his lieutenants can no longer be questioned. All, save one.

In its quest to produce a monumental record of this missing side of history, the Institute has commissioned the last wartime National Socialist leader who is still alive and free to fill the gap: Leon Degrelle, the Catholic leader of the Belgian Rexist movement and wartime leader of the Waffen SS volunteer legion "Wallonie."

Degrelle knew Hitler intimately and was one of his most trusted colleagues. One of the most decorated heroes of the Eastern Front, he may also be uniquely qualified to observe history objectively. He is not a German. Along with the people of Belgium and France, he was brought up in an officially anti-German atmosphere.

In the years before the outbreak of war Degrelle was a young Belgian intellectual who published a daily newspaper and organized a national political party which won elections and sent representatives to the Belgian parliament. The popular enthusiasm he generated was reflected in the turnout of millions who applauded his message and suported his program.

When Degrelle returned to Brussels after fighting communism for four years on the Eastern Front, he was given the largest mass welcome in Belgian history. Two million Belgians lined the streets of Brussels to cheer the returning general only two months before the Allies invaded that country.

One of the outstanding writers in the French language, he has published more than forty books and essays ranging from poetry to economics, from architecture to history. He has been acknowledged as a passionate orator and a soldier of rare valor. He joined the ranks of the 600,000 foreign volunteers of the Waffen SS as a private and earned all his stripes at the front. After four continuous years in the inferno of battle, his legion was one of the last to retreat from Russia.

This titanic struggle is described in his famous epic, *Campaign in Russia*, which earned him renown in Europe as the "Homer of the Twentieth Century." (This book has been recently published in English by the Institute for Historical Review.)

During his final meeting with Adolf Hitler, as bombs rained across Germany, Degrelle recalled that Hitler was calm and composed. They shared a last supper together. Hitler served him, cutting his bread and pouring him a glass of wine. He gazed confidently into Degrelle's eyes: "We will all die, but you, Leon, must live. You must live to tell the world the truth."

In 1945, Degrelle escaped from Germany to Norway where he boarded a single-engine plane and flew over Allied-occupied Europe to crash land on the Spanish border as his craft ran out of fuel. He suffered multiple injuries in the landing including several broken bones. He spent a year in the hospital recuperating, most of it in a plaster cast, unable to move. Typically, as soon as his right arm became free he began writing his masterwork, *Campaign in Russia* ("The Lost Legion"). It has appeared in two French editions.

The Allies threatened to invade Spain unless Degrelle and wartime French premier Pierre Laval were not immediately turned over for execution. Franco compromised. He turned over Laval but kept Degrelle on the grounds that he could not be physically removed from the hospital.

A year later Degrelle was given refuge in a monastery. Members of his family and many friends and supporters were arrested and tortured to death by the "democratic liberators" of Belgium. His six children were forcibly shipped to detention centers in different parts of Europe after their names were changed. The authorities ordered that they were never to be permitted contact with one another or with their father.

The new Belgian government condemned him to death in absentia on three separate occasions. A special law was passed, the Lex Degrellana, which made it illegal to transfer, possess, or receive any book by or about Degrelle. The IHR's *Campaign in Russia* is automatically banned in Belgium.

Completely alone, Degrelle went on to rebuild his shattered life from nothing. With the energy and burning spirit that had never left him, he worked as a manual laborer in construction. And just as he had risen from private to general on the battlefield, Degrelle rose to build a major construction company with important contracts. The quality and efficiency of his company became so well known that the United States government commissioned him to build major defense projects, including military airfields, in Spain. Meanwhile his emissaries searched Europe for his kidnapped children. All were found in the most amazing circumstances and returned to their father.

On twelve separate occasions over the last forty years Degrelle has challenged the Belgian government to put him on public trial with a jury. His repeated demands to be tried in a legitimate court of law (as opposed to an inquisitional Nuremberg-style show trial) have been met with embarrassed and guilty silence.

The Institute has commissioned this giant historical figure and first-hand witness and participant to momentous events to write a definitive, fourteen volume revisionist historical account. Degrelle's first-hand experience, as well as his acquaintance with Churchill, Mussolini and every other major figure of the Second World War, makes this a project of tremendous historical significance.

Will these books be biased in favor of Hitler? General Degrelle was already provided the answer in his other published works. He writes without fear or favor. His facts have been cursed by his opponents, but never disproved. It is this approach combined with encyclopedic knowledge that assures a valuable end result.

The first manuscript of 1268 pages is divided into three parts and is entitled: *Hitler: Born in Versailles.* It is the foundation of the thirteen succeeding books which will average 400 pages each, complete with reproductions of previously unpublished documents and photographs of key personalities. Each volume will deal with a specific aspect of Hitler's legacy. They will be entitled: *Hitler the Democrat, Hitler and the Church, Hitler and the Germans, Hitler and the United States, Hitler and Stalin, Hitler and England, Hitler and France, Hitler and the Banks, Hitler and the Communists, Hitler and the Jews, Hitler the Politician, Hitler the Military Strategist,* and *Hitler and the Third World.*

"There would never have been a Hitler without the Versailles Treaty," Degrelle says. The vested interests joined to eviscerate Germany with unprecedented iniquity. Hitler emerged as an unlikely champion from the depths of his nation's misery and despair. He was a graphic artist with a passion for music. His battle uniform was his only worldly possession. He had never been involved in politics. From the abyss of hopelessness and against the combined forces of established power Hitler created, directed, and lived his revolution from beginning to end. He broke through all prejudices and opposition to the German people, and they responded. He earned every vote he received by tirelessly addressing people in town after town and city after city. Hitler was democratically elected. When he proceeded to implement his mandate, the combined forces of Capitalism, Communism, and Zionism once again declared war against Germany.

Degrelle's comprehensive historical survey reviews all the facts in the chain of events that led to Hitler's election and the beginning of the Second World War. He also provides a rare look behind the scenes of the Versailles conference.

Degrelle maintains that Hitler's social reforms will ultimately be remembered even more than his military feats. He reviews Hitler's innovation of paid vacations and profit-sharing for work. The German leader introduced affordable and decent housing for all citizens. Hitler insisted that every German family was entitled to a home with a garden for flowers and vegetables. He required safe and pleasant working conditions. Every factory was to have a sports field, swimming pool, trees, flowers, and a pleasant architectural design. He insisted that working conditions must not impair the physical and spiritual wellbeing of the workers. He organized the mass production of the cheap "People's Car" or Volkswagen for every German family and offered them on low payments to every worker. Hitler constructed modern and beautiful freeways. He abolished usury on the principle that a nation's wealth is in its work force, not its hoard of gold. The state, Hitler emphasized, is the exclusive servant of the people and recognizes no other master. The list of Hitler's social innovations and achievements goes on and on.

In 1933 all this was unheard of. His dynamic social revolution of deed, not rhetoric, infuriated Germany's enemies and united them in hatred.

The Versailles mutilation of Germany and Austria-Hungary parceled out many millions of Germans (including German Austrians), Hungarians, and others like cattle to the hostile rule of alien neighboring countries. General Degrelle surveys the Franco-British intrigues in the affairs of Central Europe, the systematic betrayal of Wilson's Fourteen Points, the secret treaties that doomed Wilson's mission from the start, and the cynical Franco-British dividing up of vast territories without regard to the will of the millions of hapless inhabitants.

Degrelle points out that the history of Hitler and Germany can be understood only within the context of the Versailles Treaty and the harsh subjugation of Germany by implacable enemies. "Whenever I hear the Allied side of history," he adds, "I am often reminded of the reporter sent to report on a brawl. He scrupulously recorded all the blows delivered by one side and none from the other. His story would truthfully bear witness to the aggression of one side and the victimization of the other. But he would be lying by omission. I do not deny anything that Hitler did, but I also point out what the Communists and their Western allies did, and I let the public be the judge."

I am fortunate to have had the opportunity to read the first volume of Degrelle's multi-volume survey. I can vouch for its momentous importance. With members of my family I have visited him at his home in Spain. This project will be a milestone of historical writing that will shatter the foundations of the great historical lies of our time. It will be a definitive survey for generations to come. I believe that its magnitude will change the course of human affairs.

Notes

1. For example, the intrepid Roman Catholic scholar J.B. Pranaitis, a formidable Hebraist, was executed in 1917 by the Cheka (Soviet secret police) for "thought crimes."
2. Cf. Robert Conquest, *The Great Terror*, Stefan Possony, *Lenin The Compulsive Revolutionary;* Raymond Arthur Davies, *Odyssey Through Hell* and Jean Fontenoy, *Frontier Rouge—Frontier d'Enfer.*

EXECUTION by HUNGER

The Hidden Holocaust

MIRON DOLOT

Seven million people in the "breadbasket of Europe" were deliberately starved to death at Stalin's command. This holocaust has been suppressed for half a century. Now, a survivor speaks.

This poignant eyewitness account of the Ukrainian famine by one of the survivors is the story of the young Miron Dolot's day-to-day confrontation with despair and death—his helplessness as friends and family were arrested, abused, and tortured—and his gradual realization, as he matured, of the absolute control the Soviets had over his life and the lives of his people. But it is also the story of personal dignity in the face of insurmountable horror and humiliation. And it is an indictment of the communist slave system which has since embarked upon new genocide in Afghanistan.

In 1929 Joseph Stalin ordered the collectivization of all Ukrainian farms in an effort to destroy the well-to-do peasant farmers. In the ensuing years, a brutal Soviet campaign of confiscations, terrorizing, and murder spread throughout Ukrainian villages. What food remained after the seizures was insufficient to support the population. In the resulting famine as many as seven million Ukrainains starved to death—a holocaust deserving of study and commemoration.

Execution by Hunger will stand as one of the classics of a genre that continually reminds us of the cruelty and corruption of Soviet communism.

Miron Dolot is a teacher of Slavic languages and lives in California.

"Official spokesmen and journalists still go on denying that there ever was an appalling famine in Ukraine in 1932-33, brought about deliberately by Stalin when he ordered the collectivization of agriculture. As it happens, I was a correspondent in Moscow at the time, representing, as it then was, the *Manchester Guardian,* and managed to find my way to the famine area and report thereon. It was a scene of unimaginable suffering and starvation, which Miron Dolot's book brings back very vividly to me. The book is based on the author's Ukrainian childhood and his studies of Soviet policy which, whatever the Soviets may call it, is nothing but imperialism at its most ruthless. Ukrainain exiles now are scattered about the world: *Execution by Hunger* will help them to go on cherishing their national identity and hoping for the day of delivery from their country's present servitude."

—Malcolm Muggeridge

Execution by Hunger: The Hidden Holocaust • 231pp, Clothbound, $18.00
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Book Reviews

QUIET NEIGHBORS: PROSECUTING NAZI WAR CRIMINALS IN AMERICA by Alan A. Ryan, Jr. New York, NY: Harcourt, Brace, and Jovanovich, 1984, 386pp, $15.95, ISBN 0-15-175823-9.

Reviewed by Ted O'Keefe

It's been six years since the Office of Special Investigations was established in the Justice Department to gather up the few loose ends remaining after Operation Keelhaul and similar actions in 1945, when the United States, Britain, and France rounded up millions of hapless refugees from the Soviet empire and its satrapies to send them back to be hanged, shot, or worked to death in the archipelago of the Gulag. Alan Ryan, who headed the OSI for three years, has written this book to justify his and his office's part in one of the most serious abuses of American justice in this century, by which hundreds of immigrants who have lived blameless and productive lives in their adopted country are to be stripped of their rights and dragged off to show trials and certain death in Israel and the USSR.

Despite Exterminationist supermaven Raul Hilberg's characterization of Ryan as "an outstanding lawyer with the mind of a philosopher," by the evidence of *Quiet Neighbors* Ryan is a prosecutorial shyster whose mind is nimble and devious enough to carry out the duties his masters (don't worry, he tells us who they are) have entrusted him, but is clearly overtaxed at the writing of a brief for the prosecution both coherent and discreet.

Ryan's legal training was evidently good enough to land him a clerkship with Supreme Court Justice Byron "Whizzer" White, but his style of writing and the quality of his reasoning supply yet another instance of why those vocations once known as "the learned professions" are now called simply "the professions." A Yuppie-type who knows how to pander to the left-liberal galleries by adducing the well-cropped lawns and lawabiding habits of his prey as further grounds for suspecting them, Ryan is a master of the wrong word and the botched historical reference. For him, trials "appear and fade away like astronomical phenoma"; for the OSI the prolonged round of hearings and appeals necessary to dispatch its victims is a "lugubrious process," Ryan assures us that the Croats are Teutonic, and at one point informs us that the Sicherheitsdienst of the SS was commanded by Reinhold Heydrich.

Nevertheless, these are almost minor peccadilloes in the context of the grotesque and willful travesty of history Ryan serves up in *Quiet Neighbors.* Not surprisingly, his attempts at a history of the "Holocaust," the flight of the alleged war criminals to America, and the rise of the OSI are encysted between an "indictment" (of America) and a "verdict" (guilty as charged), clothed as a lengthy brief for the prosecution.

Ryan begins his story with an account of the DP's, or displaced persons, in which he manages to write an entire chapter about the post-war fate of the refugees and concentration-camp survivors from Eastern and Central Europe without once mentioning the forced "repatriation" of millions of them to the USSR. To the flight of hundreds of thousands of Jews to Palestine, which was represented by Zionist organizers and propagandists of the day as European Jewry's sole salvation, Ryan devotes half a line; for he has a different ax to grind. In the face of nine-tenths of the historical evidence, as well as all probability, he claims that Jewish DP's were second-class citizens, discriminated against in favor of Balts, Ukrainians, and ethnic Germans. Deftly picking and choosing among such evidence as seems to serve his case—the biased reports of Jewish officials seeking to obtain even further favoritism for the Jews who were moving by the hundreds of thousands into the American-occupied zone of Germany—the author waves away the rigid standards laid down against considering Germans and their "collaborators" as displaced persons, and implies, without actually saying so (for he knows better), that the number of Jews who came to America under the several special immigration laws passed after the war, was less than that justified by their numbers in the DP centers.

Ryan says nothing of the intense pressure which was being generated by Zionists at the time, pressure directed *against* the migration of Jews to America and their remaining in Europe as well as in favor of their admission to Palestine. If Dorothy Thompson, for most of her career as relentlessly a pro-Jewish publicist as was to be found in the morass of American journalism of her day, were still among the living, she could enlighten Mr. Ryan on this matter with not a little poignancy, for that erstwhile "righteous Gentile" was ruined by her pleas not only on behalf of the Arabs of Palestine, but by her "powerful plea . . . made to the United Nations to open the allied countries to the displaced European Jews. There are Zionists, however," she continued, "who did not like that column. They don't want any alternative except Palestine . . ." (Connoisseurs of the swift rises and precipitous declines in the fortunes of public men and women, as well as of the fine line which separates a Just Goy from just a goy, are advised to consult Marion K. Sanders's *Dorothy Thompson: A Legend in Her Time*).

Ryan's efforts to stir up sympathy for the Jews of post-war Europe are at the expense of the various peoples of Eastern Europe, for none of whom he seems to have any compassion. Despite a few transparent efforts to assure the reader of his fair-mindedness, Ryan generally sees Balts and Ukrainians, in particular, as anti-Semitic and vitiated by treason against the Soviet Union and collaboration with the invading Germans. For him, the issues of the war in the East were clearcut: the Germans were conquerors and enslavers, the Soviets were liberators. He chafes at the vestigial attempts of the U.S. State Department to refrain from diplomatic acquiescence in the Soviet annexation of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, which to him merely obstruct the condign justice to be meted out to traitors and "war criminals." He continually falls into locations such as "the despised Ukrainians" and approvingly cites such references as "the notorious Nazi Fifth Column" (referring to the ethnic Germans of Central and Eastern Europe).

Ryan's disdain for the complex lot of the peoples of the vast belt between Russia proper and the nations of East-Central Europe, sucked inexorably into a hellish vortex of a quarter-century of war, revolution, famine, and purges is magnified when he comes to consider the cases of the individuals he claims have committed "war crimes." The reader should understand that for Ryan and the OSI a seemingly complicated standard for evaluating and punishing the conduct of immigrants in far-off lands four decades ago, is in force. Ryan finds great fault with the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the jurisdiction of which over this sort of case was removed in the putsch engineered by Congressperson Elizabeth Holtzman and Felonperson Joshua Eilberg in 1979, for proceeding in the 1950's with three cases against Jews charged by other Jews with beating and otherwise mistreating them, as well as in one case rounding up Jews for deportation as a member of the ghetto police. Although each of the accused Jews was allowed to remain in America, Ryan speaks plaintively of the INS finding "Jews who were Nazis" (as if brutality in the service of an authoritarian power were intrinsically "Nazi").

As to the non-Jews implicated in "war crimes" (at one place Ryan disclaims the phrase "war crimes," following Simon Wiesenthal and other propagandists, but he uses it throughout), the author's standard of evidence, as well as of basic equity, is selective indeed. He accepts without qualm lists and documents supplied by the Soviet Union, and one of the most revealing chapters of *Quiet Americans* recounts his journey to Moscow in 1980, where the trembling lawyer was duly cowed and impressed by several functionaries of the Soviet's vast terror and prison machine (he accepts a cigarette from one, although he's a nonsmoker; sweats through the firm, potentially bone-crushing handshake of another; and returns breathless and ecstatic at the Reds' deigning to help out in what can only be a vast propaganda bonanza for the Kremlin).

A cardinal instance of the way Ryan and the OSI deal with historical evidence, as well as of their contempt for American ideals of fair play and justice, is Ryan's handling of the case against John Demjanjuk, whom Ryan and the U.S. government hold guilty of the murder of hundreds of thousands of Jews in 1942-43 at Treblinka, a German camp in Poland. The case against Demjanjuk, whose accusers say was called "Ivan the Terrible" in the days when he was allegedly operating a diesel engine hooked up to the Treblinka gas chambers, is clearly Ryan's *chef d'oeuvre*. He begins his "indictment" with an account of Ivan's supposed doings at the camp, and goes on to deal at further length with Ivan's crimes at Treblinka in a chapter devoted entirely to Demjanjuk, the first of several chapters dealing with specific "war criminals."

In his Demjanjuk chapter Ryan goes to some pains to display his newly acquired mastery of Exterminationism. His account of the establishment and workings of Treblinka is drawn from several sources, as well as the testimony of a number of professed eyewitnesses, the discrepancies in whose testimony "do not seriously detract from their accounts," according to our lawyer-*cum*-historian. Ryan has enough grasp of the more refined account (let us call it the "Revised Standard Version") of the "Holocaust" story to be aware that Jean-Francois Steiner's *Treblinka* has been banished from the ranks of canonical works on Exterminationism to the Exterminationist Apocrypha, although he archly announces that the book is "accurate enough for the lay reader."

Despite Ryan's mention of the Steiner book's shortcomings, he latches on greedily to one of the book's central theses, that Treblinka was a crowning achievement in the Nazi technology of death, and that its establishment was a triumph for cost-effective mass-murder. Not for Ryan is the emphasis of some "Holocaust" experts on the squeamishness, both on the part of the firing squads and the Nazi hierarchy, which resulted in a more "humane" method of killing: killing the Jews with rifle-fire was far "too primitive, too costly, too time-consuming . . . there were too many of them, and not enough bullets." The reader may make his own calculations as to the probable expenditure of bullets by a nation which fielded an army of several million men for the better part of six years, for much of that time in heavy combat, as well maintaining an air force in combat over the skies of Europe during the same time period, and judge Ryan's reasoning here accordingly.

Ryan believes that "Treblinka was not only murder's main factory but its first research and development center" (sort of a demonic Silicon Valley). Great strides were made, according to Ryan. 450 to 500 persons could be crowded into a 25-meter square gas chamber, a particularly notable achievement in view of the fact that previously, as the author informs us, the technicians of death had been unable to cram more than thirty or forty Jews—"no matter how tightly packed"—into specially modified "mobile killing vans." If Ryan's figures are to be believed, the trucks must have had carrying capacities of something less than two square meters—possibly less than that of their cabs—rendering the gas chambers of Treblinka a great advance indeed. If this premiere murder factory lacked crematoria to dispose of the bodies (something of an anomaly, in view of the great secrecy which Ryan alleges shrouded the camp), technology, we are left to assume, like nature, *non facit salta.*

Certainly Ryan's villain, Ivan the Terrible Demjanjuk, must have cut an outlandish figure among the austere technocrats who built and managed Treblinka, since it is alleged by the author (following the testimony of several sworn witnesses) that Ivan was wont to sally forth from his engine room whenever the mood struck him to carry out bestial assaults on his victims' ears, anuses, and genitalia. Whether Ivan was compelled, by his superiors or through some super-human exercise of self-discipline, to stick to his tank engine on those mornings when twenty thousand Jews arrived, were gassed, and "were dead by noon" is not made clear by Ryan, although he approvingly quotes several witnesses, one of whom has Ivan driving a cart as Jews are being driven into the gas chambers, another of whom claims that the spry Ukrainian met every train at the station, and another of whom claims Demjanjuk's duties included driving his victims into the chambers himself.

Despite Ryan's skills in reconstructing the technological and historical background to Treblinka, and in squeezing the last tear from his witnesses, and their roccoco atrocity stories, he was cognizant of the need of some supporting documentary evidence. With the help of a Soviet agent living in the United States, whom Ryan declines to name other than with a pseudonym, U.S. officials were provided with a reference to a document which purports to show that Demjanjuk served as a concentration camp guard, and then, later, during the proceedings against Demjanjuk, the document itself, an ID card from a training camp for concentration camp personnel located at Travniki in Poland, with a picture of what seems to be a young Demjanjuk prominently displayed.

Much has been written about the propriety of accepting any sort of evidence from a regime which is unsurpassed in the dissemination of forgeries and faked documents of all kinds, and justifiably so. What makes the Demjanjuk ID card interesting, however, in the light of the testimony and allegations against him, is the fact that the ID, a picture of which is reproduced in *Quiet Neighbors*, has no reference to a posting at Treblinka at all. We learn that, according to the card, the holder was "*abkommandiert*" to a place called "LG. Okzow" on 22 September 1942 (at close to the height of Treblinka's mass-murder season) and then sent off to Sobibor on 27 March 1943. There is no mention of Treblinka, an anomaly which evidently troubles Ryan not in the least. He makes no reference to what "LG. Okzow" might have been, and aside from his puzzled ruminations over the discrepancy in the initial Soviet report that placed Demjanjuk at Sobibor and the identifications of Jewish "survivors" of Treblinka, the obvious disparity between the evidence of the ID card, real or fake, and the testimony of the witnesses is passed over in silence.

What to make of a procedure so clumsy, and so shabby, that it would be laughed out of a police court if it ever so much as came to a hearing? Clearly it has little to do with the norms of justice in America. Then again, the OSI is scarcely an American body. It serves no American purpose, its investigations are dependent almost entirely on evidence supplied by the USSR and witnesses produced from abroad, mainly from Israel, and nine-tenths of its activity is focused on events which occurred in countries far from America and which didn't involve Americans. Only two aspects of the OSI's activities are American: Americans foot the bill, and several hundred Americans are being stripped of their rights and driven from their country.

Ryan is fairly explicit, despite certain efforts to portray the OSI as of vast moment to America's conscience, in acknowledging to whom it is *he* owes allegiance. As he tells us, when he became head of OSI he was concerned about his not being a Jew. "Could a good lawyer who was not Jewish have the same commitment (to round up and deport alleged war criminals—ed.)?" As he told his Jewish boss at the Department of Justice, Assistant Attorney General Philip B. Heymann: "I believed that Jewish leaders would be fair enough to give me—and Heymann—enough time to judge whether that commitment was there, and whether I could produce results. If I could, my religion would not matter; if I could not, I deserved to get the sack." So much for separation of church and state; so much for justice in America.

Ryan's allegiance to Israel and his fawning compliance with Soviet officials might be more than enough to disqualify him for any position in an American government and enough to result in the abolition of the OSI immediately, particularly by an administration that at least gives lip service to American nationalism and anti-Communism. The fact that several Americans have already been banished from a country that they served loyally (witness Bishop Viorel Trifa's establishment of an anti-Comminist Romanian Orthodox Episcopate in America to counter the existing, Bucharest-controlled body), the fact that at least two have been driven to suicide, and the glaring violations of justice and the rights of several hundred other Americans, whom the OSI is busily investigating and indicting even now, would seem to spur the Reagan administration even more vigorously. The fact that these haven't occurred teaches us more about the present reality of government in America than the leaders of the current administration would like us to know, just as Ryan's book teaches us more about the author and the OSI than was his purpose in revealing.

EICHMANN INTERROGATED: Transcripts from the Archives of the Israeli Police edited by Jochen von Lang in collaboration with Claus Sibyll. Translated from the German by Ralph Manheim. Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, New York, 1983, 293pp.

Reviewed by Ted O'Keefe

The kidnapping, trial, and execution of Adolf Eichmann, the German officer alleged by the Israelis to have played a central role in the killing of six million Jews in the years 1941 to 1944, have attracted vast attention and endless comment. Much of this has dealt with ethical or even metaphysical issues: Eichmann's justification in claiming that he was merely carrying out his orders, "the banality of evil," and the like. This book, which purports to be a translation of selected transcripts of Eichman's nine-month interrogation by the Israeli Police, presents a fairly detailed account of Eichmann's alleged misdeeds and attempts to establish that he was "in fact the flywheel of [the] merciless extermination machine."

The transcripts, which were translated from German to English by Ralph Manheim, well known for his translation of *Mein Kampf*, are conceded by their editors, Jochen von Lang and Claus Sibyll, to have been "collated . . . so as to present the record in logical and chronological order." Like anything which comes out of Israel, particularly when it touches on the "Holocaust" tale, their authenticity is open to considerable doubt. Nevertheless, despite the pains of the Israelis, as well as the editors and translator, the Eichmann transcripts, when carefully studied, offer considerable ammunition to revisionists of the Extermination myth.

The reader will doubtless be surprised to learn that Eichmann's interrogation was carried out by the Israeli Police Force, a national organization comparable in its duties and function to the British national police headquartered at Scotland Yard. The details of Eichmann's surveillance and capture remain murky, despite several accounts, at least one of them purportedly by former Mossad chief Isser Harel, but few doubt that Harel's shadowy spy and terror directorate played a commanding role in the affair. The most interesting conversations between Eichmann and the Israelis were between the former SS Obersturmbannfuehrer and the Mossad, particularly in light of his many dealings with Zionist leaders and agents, from his trip to Palestine in 1937 with Haganah operative Feivel Polkes to his contacts with Raoul Wallenberg in 1944.

It is interesting to learn from the introduction by Avner Less, the German-born policeman who questioned Eichmann, that of the thirty-man team charged with preparing the interrogation "no one . . . had detailed knowledge of the Holocaust." Since the interrogation team had to "plow through" the voluminous records of the Nuremberg trials, as well as material supplied by the Yad Vashem center, it is clear that Less and his helpers lacked a coherent account of the activities Eichmann had been arrested for, and were conducting an investigation and an interrogation simultaneously. This goes far to explain the ineptitude often exhibited by Less in this edition of the transcripts, which doubtless were edited to put the Israeli case in the best light.

Captain Less's ignorance of Eichmann's career (he admits in his introduction that Gerald Reitlinger's *Final Solution* "became almost a bible" for him), didn't stop him from attempting to create an all-encompassing role for his prisoner as architect of the "Final Solution," which for Less means the systematic murder of the Jews of German-occupied Europe. The documentary evidence presented by Less as to Eichmann's role in promoting Jewish emigration from Austria, the Czech lands which then formed the "protectorate" of Bohemia and Moravia, and Germany proper, as well as for his part in organizing the deportation of Jews from various European countries to ghettoes and camps in territories to the east of the German Reich, is for the most part credible. As to Eichmann's activities in other facets of the "Final Solution," however, there is grave doubt, even when Eichmann is presented as admitting to them, as he does often in these transcripts. In inflating Eichmann's role in the "Holocaust" story to the stature claimed for it in the testimony of a number of his subordinates in the "war crimes" proceedings, the Israelis have created a dilemma for themselves from which escape is a difficult matter indeed.

In this effort to build up Eichmann as the managing director of Exterminationism they've been more poorly served by the editors, Lang and Sibyll, and their translator, Manheim, than they may imagine. All three are fussy pedants of a particularly Teutonic mold who seldom miss an opportunity to catch an error, no matter how minor, if it will detract from the credibility of an Eichmann or a Hitler (readers of *Mein Kampf* in Manheim's translation will recall his quibbling at the author's every minor lapse, and his assurance that Hitler's use of classical allusions carries no proof that he's familiar with the original works). If Eichmann's forgotten a date or mixed up a time sequence, the editors' intervention is swift and implacable.

All the more damning, therefore, that Eichmann is unchallenged by interrogator, editors, or translator in a whole series of ludicrous mistakes about the version of the "Holocaust" that currently enjoys the imprimatur of recognized Exterminationist experts. The ex-SS officer claims to have witnessed mass slaughter on a grand scale at Auschwitz in the fall of 1941, where the camp commandant, Rudolf Hoess, informed him that the great, factory-like buildings, the chimneys of which belch smoke, are "working to capacity: Ten thousand!" This months before the Auschwitz crematoria were constructed, let alone in use. In a Cook's tour of mass murder sites which Eichmann claims he took that memorable Fall, on the urging of Gestapo chief Heinrich Mueller and Reich Security Main Office head Reinhard Heydrich, he obligingly admits to visiting half a dozen places where killings are already being carried out, including Treblinka—although he's not sure if it's Treblinka—where gassings are being carried out with a submarine engine; places near Minsk and Lemberg, where mass shootings are taking place (including one mass grave from which "blood was gushing out . . . like a geyser," although it had already been filled in); and again Treblinka (this time there's no doubt: phony railway station and all) where gassings are being carried out with the insecticide Zyklon-B. The gushering geysers are a nice touch, and jibe well with the propensity of other "Holocaust" mass graves to quake and spew forth blood, sometimes for months after the killings; Treblinka, however, is supposed not to have been functioning as an extermination center until the summer of 1942, nor was Zyklon-B ever claimed to have been employed there.

As has been stated, these minor absurdities don't seem to have perturbed Captain Less, who throughout the remainder of *Eichmann Interrogated* skips merrily from document to document, confronting his prisoner time and time again with allegedly damning accusations culled from affidavits and bills of lading, passenger lists and confessions, in his efforts to have Eichmann own up to his full guilt. Although the prisoner does his best to be obliging throughout the transcripts (Eichmann even offers substantiation for the six-million claim—he says he's worked out the numbers from reading Jewish almanacs), he persistently rejects the accusation that he was the organizer of the "Final Solution" or the "flywheel of the extermination machine." Indeed, Eichmann is allowed to score occasionally some telling points. Why carry several weeks provisions, footgear, and blankets, as one deportation order provides, if the deportees are to be gassed as soon as they alight, is Eichmann's plaintive question, to which Less has no good reply. These transcripts, organized and collated as they may be, offfer no all-embracing confession.

What has been worked out, however, with Eichmann's seeming agreement, is a role as a sort of presiding genius of Exterminationism, intimately involved somehow in all its grisly details, sometimes to be sure only in the role of a voyeur, gaping at mass slaughters from Kulmhof (which Eichmann calls in these transcripts Kulm, for the most part), at other times implicated by bits of paper which have flowed through his office or across his desk; in a word, an Erich Dorf *avant la lettre* (and the reader will surmise that the fictional Dorf was awarded his subsidiary but all-encompassing part in the *Holocaust* of the novel and the docudrama because Greater Ones than he were privileged to be giving out orders, and more brutal men than he were allowed to carry them out).

The propaganda bonanza which Israel reaped from the Eichmann affair was necessarily transitory. Unfortunately for the proponents of the "Holocaust" tale, *Eichmann Interrogated* will be around for a long time.

THE FATEFUL TRIANGLE: THE UNITED STATES, ISRAEL & THE PALESTINIANS by Noam Chomsky. Boston, MA: South End Press, 1983, 481 pp, $10.00, Pb, ISBN: 0-89608-187-7, (available from IHR, $11.00 postpaid)

Reviewed by L.A. Rollins

The *Fateful Triangle* is a fact-filled, insightful look at the "special relationship" between the United States and Israel. Noam Chomsky, professor of linguistics at M.I.T., examines the origins of this "special relationship," its disastrous consequences for the Palestinian (and other) Arabs, and its danger for everyone.

Concentrating mainly on Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon, Chomsky provides a wealth of ideas and information in conflict with the Zionist mythology which pretty much predominates in the mass media and academia. The result is a devastating debunking of one-sided Zionist propaganda.

The pro-Zionist bias of most American journalists and scholars is one particularly obvious aspect of the aforementioned "special relationship." As Chomsky puts it, "The truth of the matter is that Israel has been granted a unique immunity from criticism in mainstream journalism and scholarship, consistent with its unique role as a beneficiary of other forms of American support" (p. 31). He cites numerous examples of this immunity from criticism, including the silence and/or misrepresentation about Israel's terrorist attacks on U.S. facilities in Egypt (the Lavon affair) and the "clearly premeditated" attack on the "unmistakably identified" U.S.S. *Liberty*, an attack which, according to Chomsky's count, left 34 American crewmen dead and another 75 wounded. Chomsky asks, "Can one imagine that any other country could carry out terrorist bombings of U.S. installations or attack a U.S. ship killing or wounding 100 men with complete impunity, without even critical comment for many years?" (p. 32)

Of course, as Chomsky acknowledges, Israel did come in for an unprecedented amount of criticism because of "Operation Peace for Galilee," the 1982 invasion of Lebanon. But he debunks the attempt by some die-hard Zionist apologists to blame such criticism on—get this—media bias *against* Israel! As Chomsky shows, there was (and is) no widespread anti-Israel bias in the American mass media, although there was, temporarily at least, a reduction in the usual degree of pro-Israel bias. As Chomsky writes:

> The charge that the American media were "pro-PLO" or "anti-Israel" during the Lebanon war—or before—is easily unmasked, and is in fact absurd. It suffices to compare their coverage of the occupied territories, the war, the treatment of prisoners, and other topics, with what we find in the Hebrew press in Israel, a comparison always avoided by those who produce these ridiculous charges. Again, the annals of Stalinism come to mind, with the outrage over Trotskyite "critical support" for the "workers' state." Any deviation from total obedience is intolerable to the totalitarian mentality, and is interpreted as reflecting a "double standard," or worse. (p. 289)

Among those accusing the media of anti-Israel bias was the self-styled Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, which, as Chomsky points out, " . . . specializes in trying to prevent critical discussion of policies of Israel by such techniques as maligning critics, including Israelis who do not pass its test of loyalty. . . ." (p. 14). Chomsky has himself been a victim of defamation by the Anti-Defamation League and knows whereof he speaks.

It is somewhat unusual for an American author, especially a Jewish one, to blow the whistle on the ADL's propaganda antics.

But it is even more unusual to see public criticism of big-time "Holocaust" survivor and pseudo-saint Elie Wiesel and his Wiesel-words regarding Israel's less lovely activities.

Regarding Israeli policies in the occupied territories, for example, Wiesel has said:

> What to do and how to do it, I really don't know because I lack the elements of information and knowledge . . . You must be in a position of power to possess all the information . . . I don't have that information, so I don't know . . . (p. 16)

Similarly, after the Sabra and Shatila massacres, Wiesel said, "I don't think we should even comment [on the massacre in the refugee camps] since the [Israeli judicial] investigation is still on. . . . We should not pass judgment until the investigation takes place." (p. 386)

Wiesel, of course, is well known for passing judgment on the actions of other governments, but when it comes to the State of Israel he whistles a different tune. In fact, Wiesel has said, "I support Israel—period. I identify with Israel—period. I never attack, I never criticize Israel when I am not in Israel." (p. 16)

Chomsky points up Wiesel's hypocrisy in the following passage:

> Recall Wiesel's unwillingness to criticize Israel beyond its borders, or to comment on what happens in the occupied territories, because "You must be in a position of power to possess all the information." Generalizing the principle beyond the single state to which it applies for this saintly figure, as we should if it is valid, we reach some interesting conclusions: it follows, for example, that critics of the Holocaust while it was in progress were engaged in an illegitimate act, since not being in a position of power in Nazi Germany, they "did not possess all the information." (p. 387)

Of course, one of Wiesel's repeated accusations against "the world" is that it did not say (or do) enough about "the Holocaust" while it was in progress. One wonders how Wiesel will weasel out of this contradiction in his position.

In any case, as you may have noticed, Chomsky does not dispute the historical reality of "the Holocaust." But even so, I think that anyone who will publicly criticize the hypocrisy of such a sacred cow (or should I say, sacred weasel?) as Elie Wiesel, merits the attention of revisionists.

It should be noted that while Chomsky is highly critical of Israeli policies and actions, he is not fundamentally anti-Israel. He supports "a two-state political settlement that would include recognized borders, security guarantees, and reasonable prospects for a peaceful resolution of the conflict." (p. 3) From this position, he criticizes Israel's consistent "rejectionism"—the rejection of any political settlement accomodating the "national rights" of the Palestinian Arabs.

Chomsky also criticizes the American policies which make Israeli rejectionism possible. And he points out the hypocrisy involved in criticizing Israeli policies while supporting their subsidization with billions of dollars of American aid each year. As Chomsky puts it:

> Clearly, as long as the United States provides the wherewithal, Israel will use it for its purposes. These purposes are clear enough today, and have been clear to those who chose to understand for many years: to integrate the bulk of the occupied territories within Israel in some fashion while finding a way to reduce the Arab population; to disperse the scattered refugees and crush any manifestation of Palestinian nationalism or Palestinian culture; to gain control over Southern Lebanon. Since these goals have long been obvious and have been shared in fundamental respects by the two major political groupings in Israel, there is little basis for condemning Israel when it exploits the position of regional power afforded it by the phenomenal quantities of U.S. aid in exactly the ways that would be anticipated by any person whose head is not buried in the sand. Complaints and accusations are indeed hypocritical as long as material assistance is provided in an unending and ever-expanding flow, along with diplomatic and ideological support, the latter, by shaping the facts of history in a convenient form. Even if the occasional tempered criticisms from Washington or in editorial commentary are seriously intended, there is little reason for any Israeli government to pay any attention to them. The historical practice over many years has trained Israeli leaders to assume that U.S. "opinion makers" and political elites will stand behind them whatever they do, and that even if direct reporting is accurate, as it generally is, its import will gradually be lost as the custodians of history carry out their tasks. (p. 2)

Chomsky's got a point here, and it's an important one. What better way would there be to moderate Israeli policies than to cut off (or at least drastically reduce) American aid to Israel? But even if so, how is such an aid cut-off (or reduction) to be accomplished? *That* is the question. Unfortunately, I don't know the answer. And, as far as I can see, neither does Chomsky.

Of course, there is much more to *The Fateful Triangle* than I have been able to indicate in this review. To mention just one more subject, those who are interested in some of the more extreme examples of Zionist thinking will find them here, especially in the section on "The Rise of Religious-Chauvinist Fanaticism." In this section, Chomsky quotes the following notable statement:

> We will certainly establish order in the Middle East and in the world. And if we do not take this responsibility upon ourselves, we are sinners, not just towards ourselves but towards the entire world.

> For who can establish order in the world? All of those western leaders of weak character? (p. 155)

No, this is not a passage from the plagiaristic *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. The statement was made by Rabbi Elazar Valdmann of Gush Emunim in the pages of *Nekudah*, the journal of the religious-chauvinist West Bank settlers. There is a pop song on the radio these days which says, "Everybody wants to rule the world." I don't know if *everybody* wants to rule the world, but obviously the good rabbi wants to do so. I wish him the worst luck possible in getting what he wants.

Despite some shortcomings, *The Fateful Triangle* is one of the best exposes of Zionist mythology now available. Even those who have read Alfred Lilienthal's *The Zionist Connection* will probably find Chomsky's book an excellent supplement. It is, in any case, a worthy example of what James J. Martin has dubbed "inconvenient history."

THE EASTERN FRONT: THE SOVIET-GERMAN WAR, 1941-45 by J.N. Westwood. New York: The Military Press, with maps, photographs, index, 1984, 192pp, $12.95, ISBN 0-517-42314-6

Reviewed by Charles Lutton

This Spring marked the 40th Anniversary of VE-Day. In the United States, Britain, and other Western countries, there has been much self congratulation about how "we" won the Second World War. Yet, it was on the Eastern Front that the outcome of the war was decided. Had the best of Hitler's forces not been fighting the Soviets, it is unlikely that there would have been any Allied victory in 1945, or anytime foreseeable thereafter. And it is well to recall that it took the Western Allies, despite their overwhelming superiority in men and materiel, eleven months to subdue the Germans. By way of contrast, in the Spring of 1940, inferior German forces conquered the same territory in about six weeks.

J.N. Westwood, a British military historian with over twenty published titles to his credit, has written a survey of the titanic struggle between Germany and the Soviet Union. Despite some flaws in interpretation, it provides a useful enough introduction to the fighting that went on in this crucial theater of the Second World War.

Westwood reviews the background to the conflict, pointing out that Stalin, confident that he was in a position of strength, took more of Eastern Europe than had been agreed to in the Russo-

German agreements of 1939—including parts of Lithuania and Romanian North Bukovina. But the swift German victories in the Balkans in the Spring of 1941 alarmed Stalin and led him to adopt a softer line. This was too late, for Hitler, long suspicious of the Soviets, had already made up his mind to launch a preventive war against the USSR, before Stalin posed a greater threat to Western Europe.

In his discussion of the opposing balance of forces, the author cites their high standard of training as the key to German success. In terms of military hardware, much German equipment was run of the mill and there were relatively few Panzer and mechanized divisions in the Wehrmacht. Adding to this was the dispersal of German forces necessitated by commitments in the Mediterranean, the Battle of the Atlantic, and occupation duties in Western Europe. In fact, relatively modest German forces, along with units from Finland, Rumania, Hungary, Slovakia, and later, Spain and Italy, took part in the Eastern campaign.

Despite their shortcomings, the Axis forces captured thousands of square miles of Soviet territory during the opening months of the war and by November 1941 reached the suburbs of Moscow. Westwood is correct in charging Hitler with having failed in the planning stage to agree upon a long-term objective. The author summarizes the problem thusly:

> This situation in fact doomed Operation Barbarossa. . . . It was a plan without a conclusioin, as the victorious German commanders discovered in September 1941. The foundation of the plan, a three-pronged attack against Leningrad and the Baltic, Moscow and the center, Kiev and the Ukraine, was agreed by all parties, although this had not been the first intention of the planners. But the objectives of the invasion were not laid out in any order of priority. Essentially, the trouble was that Hitler wished to achieve too many things and, even when asked, refused to say which he regarded as the most important, on the grounds that all were achievable. That is, it seemed that there were at least three "first" priorities.

The dispersal of Axis military resources over a broad front with multiple objectives was responsible for its failure to capture Moscow in 1941. By the end of that year, the United States entered the war and the Red Army launched a successful counter-offensive. A number of men close to Hitler even then concluded that Germany had bitten off more than it could chew. Among these insiders was Dr. Fritz Todt, Hitler's armaments minister, who predicted that victory would go to the most primitive contestant, the Russians, because their endurance, especially of cold, was greater.

Indeed, the Soviet Union proved to be a far more resilient opponent than predicted. The Red Army was much larger than anticipated. Terror was deliberately employed to stiffen Soviet resistance. Westwood points out that, "From the top generals, subject to Stalin's capriciousness, right down to the wavering foot soldiers executed by detachments placed in their rear for that very purpose, the Red Army was characterized by the large number of its men killed by Russian bullets."

This touches on one of my reservations with what is, by and large, an even-handed narrative. Westwood admits that many Soviet casualties were inflicted by NKVD murder squads; by Red partisans against civilians who they feared might cooperate with the Germans; and by the Red Army commanders' reliance on massed frontal attacks which took a heavy toll of front-line troops. Yet, in his final chapter, "The Drive to Berlin," the author tries to excuse the brutalities perpetrated by the Red Army on the conquered people of Central Europe by repeating the claim made by apologists for Soviet behavior, that twenty million Soviet soldiers and civilians were killed in the course of the war: "By 1945 self-restraint could hardly be expected," writes the author. Careful research, chiefly that of Nikolai Tolstoy, has unmasked this particular hoax. On many counts Stalin's government can be held accountable for the frightfully high number of deaths suffered by Soviet subjects during the Second World War. Tolstoy's thesis has been developed in his important book, *Stalin's Secret War* (1981), which appeared in print before Westwood's manuscript was completed.*

Westwood believes correctly, in my opinion, that the Soviet victory at Stalingrad in early 1943 was not the military turning point of the war. The monumental battle of Kursk in the Summer of 1943 confirmed that ascendancy had irrevocably passed to the Soviets. But even through the last weeks of the war, German regular troops and officers were, on average, superior to their opponents in the East and the West. The Wehrmacht was simply overwhelmed by the forces of the Soviet Union and her Western Allies.

Those looking for a summary of the war on the Eastern Front, describing the battles, equipment, and personalities involved, will likely find this lavishly illustrated volume useful. More detailed accounts of this epic struggle include: *Barbarossa: The Russian-German Conflict, 1941-45* by Alan Clark (1965/85); *The Russo-German War 1941-45* by Albert Seaton (1970/71); and John Erickson's two-volume study, *The Road to Stalingrad: Stalin's War with Germany* (1975), *The Road to Berlin* (1983) and Leon Degrelle's epic, *Campaign In Russia: The Waffen SS on the Eastern Front* (1985) published by the IHR.

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*See my dual review to *Stalin's Secret War* and *Pawns of Yalta* by Mark Elliott, in *The Journal of Historical Review*, Vol. 5, No. 1, Spring 1984, pp. 84-94.

DRESDEN 1945: THE DEVIL'S TINDERBOX by Alexander McKee. New York: E.P. Dutton, Inc., 1982, 1984, with maps, photographs, index, $18.95, ISBN 0-525-24262-7.

Reviewed by Charles Lutton

The destruction of the virtually undefended German city of Dresden by bombers of the Royal Air Force and U.S. Army Air Force, in mid-February, 1945, remains one of the most controversial episodes of the Second World War. In 1963, British historian David Irving published a pathbreaking study on this topic. Another widely-published British military historian, Alexander McKee, has produced a new account of the Dresden bombing, based in part upon an examination of official records recently declassified, as well as interviews from survivors of the attack and Allied airmen who flew in the raids.

McKee had doubts about the efficacy of area bombing when, as a soldier with the 1st Canadian Army, he witnessed the results of the Allied bombing of "friendly" French towns. Following visits to the cities of Caen and Lisieux, he wrote in his personal war diary:

> Lisieux and Caen are examples of the inflexibility of the four-motor heavy bombers: it cannot block a road without bringing down a city. I'm not surprised that our troops advancing between Caen and Lisieux were fired on by French civilians. No doubt many Frenchmen found it hard to be liberated by a people who seem, by their actions, to specialise in the mass murder of their friends.

McKee was an eye-witness to the final destruction of the towns of Emmerich and Arnhem. He related that, "In Emmerich I saw no building whatever intact. . . . This process, when the town was an Allied one, we referred to with bitter mockery as 'Liberation.' When you said that such-and-such a place had been 'liberated,' you meant that hardly one stone still stood upon another."

The bombing of urban areas which *might* contain targets of military importance was a policy advocated by leading British air strategists long before the outbreak of the war. McKee reviewed the writings of the air power theorists of the 1920s and 30s, observing that "re-reading them now is like browsing through a British *Mein Kampf*. The horror to come is all there between the lines. What they are really advocating is an all-out attack on noncombatants, men, women, and children, as a deliberate policy of terror."

After sifting through the evidence, the author refers to these proferred justifications as the "standard white-wash gambit." There was a military barracks in Dresden, but it was located on the outskirts of the "New Town," miles away from the selected target area. There were some hutted camps in the city—full of starving refugees who had fled from the advancing Red Terror in the East. The main road route passed on the west outside the city limits. The railway network led to an important junction, but this, too, passed outside the center of the "Old City," which was the focal point for the bombing attacks. No railway stations were on the British target maps, nor, apparently, were bridges, the destruction of which could have impeded German communications with the Eastern Front. And despite the claims of U.S. Air Force historians, writing in 1978, that "The Secretary of War had to be appraised of . . . the Russian request for its neutralization," the author has unearthed no evidence of such a Soviet request.

What the author has discovered about the attack is that:

- By the end of Summer, 1944, "there is evidence that the Western Allies were contemplating some terrible but swift end to the war by committing an atrocity which would terrify the enemy into instant surrender. Without doubt, the inner truth has still to be prised loose, but the thread of thought can be discerned."

- "The bomber commanders were not really interested in any purely military or economic targets. . . . What they were looking for was a big built-up area which they could burn . . . . The attraction Dresden had for Bomber Command was that the centre of the city should burn easily and magnificently; as indeed it was to do."

- At the time of the attacks on February 13/14, 1945, the inhabitants of Dresden were mostly women and children, many of whom had just arrived as refugees from the East. There were also large numbers of Allied POWs. Few German males of military age were left in the city environs. The author cites the official Bomber Command history prepared by Sir Charles Webster and Dr. Noble Frankland, which reveals that "the unfortunate, frozen, starving civilian refugees were the first object of the attack, before military movements."

- Dresden was virtually undefended. Luftwaffe fighters stationed in the general vicinity were grounded for lack of fuel. With the exception of a few light guns, the anti-aircraft batteries had been dismantled for employment elsewhere. McKee quotes one British participant in the raid, who reported that "our biggest problem, quite truly, was with the chance of being hit by bombs from other Lancasters flying above us."

- Targets of genuine military significance were not hit, and had not even been included on the official list of targets. Among the neglected military targets was the railway bridge spanning the Elbe River, the destruction of which could have halted rail traffic for months. The railway marshalling yards in Dresden were also outside the RAF target area. The important autobahn bridge to the west of the city was not attacked. Rubble from damaged buildings did interrupt the flow of traffic within the city, "but in terms of the Eastern Front communications network, road transport was virtually unimpaired."

- In the course of the USAF daylight raids, American fighter-bombers strafed civilians: "Amongst these people who had lost everything in a single night, panic broke out. Women and children were massacred with cannon and bombs. It was mass murder." American aircraft even attacked animals in the Dresden Zoo. The USAF was still at it in late April, with Mustangs strafing Allied POWs they discovered working in fields.

- The author concludes that, "Dresden had been bombed for political and not military reasons; but again, without effect. There was misery, but it did not affect the war." Some have suggested that the bombing of Dresden was meant to serve as a warning to Stalin of what sort of destruction the Western Powers were capable of dealing. If that was their intent, it certainly failed to accomplish the objective.

Once word leaked out that the Dresden raids were generally viewed as terrorist attacks against civilians, those most responsible for ordering the bombings tried to avoid their just share of the blame. McKee points out that:

> In both the UK and the U.S.A. a high level of sophistication was to be employed in order to excuse or justify the raids, or to blame them on someone else. It is difficult to think of any other atrocity—and there were many in the Second World War—which has produced such an extraordinary aftermath of unscrupulous and mendacious polemics.

Who were the men to blame for the attacks? The author reveals that:

> It was the Prime Minister himself who in effect had signed the death warrant for Dresden, which had been executed by Harris [chief of RAF Bomber Command]. And it was Churchill, too, who in the beginning had enthusiastically backed the bomber marshals in carrying out the indiscriminate area bombing policy in which they all believed. They were all in it together. Portal himself [head of the RAF], Harris of course, Trenchard [British air theorist] too, and the Prime Minister most of all. And many lesser people.

An aspect of the Dresden bombing that remains a question today is how many people died during the attacks of February 13/14, 1945. The city was crammed with uncounted refugees and many POWs in transit, when the raids took place. The exact number of casualties will never be known. McKee believed that the official figures were understated, and that 35,000 to 45,000 died, though "the figure of 35,000 for one night's massacre alone might easily be doubled to 70,000 without much fear of exaggeration, I feel."

Alexander McKee has written a compelling account of the destruction of Dresden. Although the author served with the British armed forces during the war, his attitude toward the events he describes reminds this reviewer of McKee's fellow Brit, Royal Navy Captain Russell Grenfell, who played a key role in the sinking of the battleship *Bismarck*, but who, after the war, wrote a classic of modern Revisionism, *Unconditional Hatred: German War Guilt and the Future of Europe* (1953). Likewise, *Dresden, 1945*, deserves a place in any Revisionists' library.

THE MIGHT THAT WAS ASSYRIA by H.W.F. Saggs. London: Sidgwick & Jackson, with maps, photographs, index, xii + 340 pp, 1984, ISBN 0-283-98961 (hardcover), 0-283-98962 (paperback), (available in the United States through the History Book Club).

Reviewed by Charles Lutton

For approximately two-and-a-half centuries, the Assyrian empire exerted tremendous influence upon developments in what biblical accounts called the "land of Canaan." At the height of its power, Assyria absorbed the kingdoms of Syria, Israel, Judah, and Egypt as far as Thebes. Jonah, after being disgorged by a whale, is said to have called upon the inhabitants of Nineveh, the Assyrian capital, to renounce their sins and worship the Hebrews' god. Isaiah viewed Assyrian imperialism as an instrument used for divine purpose.

Over the centuries, the Assyrians have suffered from a "bad press." True, they pursued policies of often ruthless conquest, made possible in part by their army, noted for its ferocity and fighting efficiency. As Professor Harry Saggs points out in his new study, *The Might That Was Assyria*, "Largely in consequence of the Bible and of Byron's poem,* the Assyrians have a reputation in the English-speaking world for ruthless barbarity. They have been maligned. Certainly they could be rough and tough to maintain order, but they were defenders of civilization, not barbarian destroyers."

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*Byron wrote about the Assyrian attack on Jerusalem, capital of Judah. The opening lines read:

The Assyrian came down like the wolf on the fold,
And his cohorts were gleaming in purple and gold.

Dr. Saggs, Professor of Semitic Languages, University College, Cardiff, and author of many works, including *The Greatness That Was Babylon,* has spent over half his life studying the Assyrians. He sets out to present them as real human beings. For example, Professor Saggs has his readers meet the king who took time off from a military expedition to go harpooning dolphins in the Mediterranean, and the royal governor who regarded the introduction of bee-keeping in his province as his most notable accomplishment. We learn how Assyrians dressed, their marriage customs, religious views, and medical practices, which mixed magic with medical treatments—much as people today often call for divine intervention for people undergoing surgery or who suffer from severe illness. The author warns in the preface that, "The reader will soon notice that I actually like the Assyrians, warts and all: I make no apology for this. Though the Assyrians, like the people of every other nation ancient and modern, were sometimes less than kind to their fellow humans, I feel no compulsion to be continually advertising my own rightmindedness by offering judgment upon their every action or attitude in terms of current liberal orthodoxy."

In his chapter reviewing the background and beginnings of Assyria, Professor Saggs mentions the influence of the Sumerians in that part of the world. Of this remarkable people, he writes, "Altogether, there is a good deal of evidence in favor of the view that a particular ethnic group played a major part in the creation of what we know as Sumerian culture, although this sticks in the gullet of many younger archaeologists, who have been politically conditioned to regard it as wicked even to consider the possibility that one race or ethnic group may be more able than another."

This is a well-written introduction to one of the major formative influences on the history of the ancient Near East. It also serves as a barometer marking the progress of revisionism. After all, the Assyrian capital of Ninevah fell in 612 B.C. to the combined forces of the Medes, Scythians, and Babylonians under Nabopolassar. Yet, it was not until 1984 A.D. that a major work describing the Assyrians as something other than Satanic tools appeared, and gained a measure of acceptance, as shown by its being a selection of the very establishment History Book Club. At this rate, I can well imagine a fearless historian of the year 4580 A.D. writing in his preface to *A History of the German Empires to 1945*: "The reader will soon notice that I actually like the Germans, warts and all. . . . Though the Germans, like the people of every other nation ancient and modern, were sometimes less than kind to their fellow humans . . . they were defenders of civilization, not barbarian destroyers."

THE PERIODIC TABLE by Primo Levi, Translated from the Italian by Raymond Rosenthal. New York: Schocken Books, 1984, 233pp, ISBN 0-8052-3929-4.

Reviewed by Dr. William B. Lindsey

In the deluge of printed matter which competes today for our time and attention as well as our dollars, one is required to use all the selective skills at his disposal to discriminate and thereby eliminate as much chaff from the grain as is possible. Even then, it is highly unlikely that anyone would ever be able to read all that which one might consider worthy of one's time.

One of the selective criteria, of course, is whether the author knows whereof he writes. On this point, Primo Levi is certainly no late-comer, as are numerous others in the present glittering array of professional "Holocaustorians." His initial opus, *If This Is A Man* (1959), fits the general pattern of writing of this type and this period. It has a shaky, often imperceptible skeleton of autobiographical fact heavily clothed with the grossest and often the most shameless fiction posing as fact. At a time when a gullible, German-hating, sensation-hungry, grossly-misinformed public was eager to believe that every German concentration camp was erected to kill Jews, his first book was one of those effective, inundative ficational diatribes which reassured the uncertain and helped stampede the mesmerized herd into the inevitability of the post-war dismemberment of Central Europe.

But as I say, some of Levi's words are true. He is an Italian Jew, and was trained as a chemist ("summa cum laude," he tells us in the section entitled "Nickel"). As any self-respecting "lover of freedom" would do, he joined the (communist) underground in the Piedmont and was finally caught and delivered to the Germans. Instead of shooting him on the spot ("Gold"), the recognized and sanctioned penalty to which non-uniformed guerrillas were subject in military law, the labor-short Germans shipped him off to the Auschwitz complex in 1944 (prisoner No. 174517) where, he reveals, he eventually worked in the I.G. Farbenindustrie Monowitz industrial laboratory ("Cerium") which supported the huge German effort to manufacture sorely needed synthetic gasoline and rubber. When the Germans were forced to evacuate the Auschwitz area, Levi was one of those who chose, or was chosen, to remain with those unable to be evacuated—those who were to be captured or "liberated" by the Russians. (Some inmates apparently preferred death to such "liberation.") After "liberation," Levi remained for quite some time either willingly or—as he now states—because of a Russian "bureaucratic snarl-up," traveling in Poland and Russia before returning to Italy to resume activities as a chemist ("Chromium"), apparently in an Italian varnish firm.

An inquiring mind will at this point, I believe wonder why, if the Germans intended to kill all Jews, Primo Levi was spared? He had, after all, been caught red-handed as a communist partisan. He was a Jewish intellectual. He knew of the "exterminations" going on at Auschwitz. Any one of those categories, according to Exterminationist dogma, should have qualified him for immediate, certain "liquidation," as the Soviets prefer to put it. If the Germans had intended killing anyone, he should have been one of the very first to go. But he, along with countless others, survived. Indeed, unlike Levi, most did so because they were *evacuated* by the very Germans who were later to become the victims of the very evacuees they'd saved, as an ironic result of fantastic and tainted testimony given by the evacuess. In an endeavor which became very lucrative, Levi, proceeded, as did many others, to "get his" in the traditional manner. As might have been predicted, he has produced a number of profitable "I was there" books which led eventually to the current *The Periodic Table.*

Having established the position of the author as an "expert" on his subject, one must then be concerned with the credentials of the translator, Mr. Raymond Rosenthal. In this case, it seems appropriate to consider the judgment of Nobel Laureate Saul Bellow who exudes the following: "There is nothing superfluous here, everything this book contains is essential. It is wonderfully pure, and beautifully translated."

I cannot attest to the "beauty" of the translation, but I do not share Bellow's unrestrained enthusiasm for this book. It might better have been entitled *The Periodic Accusations,* since they, indeed, do seem to return almost as periodically as do Israeli needs for U.S. Dollars and German Marks. Levi's ploy this round has been to select a skeleton of twenty-one very real chemical elements and then to proceed to "clothe" them with his standard sentimental "Holocaust" reminiscences and fancies on a series of subjects. These subjects range from his ancestory ("Argon") through his schooling, demonstrations of his linguistic prowess, a fling at creative writing ("Lead" and "Mercury"), Greco-Roman mythology, a smattering of chemistry, his war experiences, an expected dash of braggadocio and, of course, his undying hatred of the inhuman Fascists—all intended, I conclude, to impress the conditioned reader.

To demonstrate Levi's genius in more detail, I have chosen to review his "Potassium" more completely. In ten pages, he describes how, as a result of reading Lion Feuchtwanger's *The Oppermanns* (published in the U.S. early in 1934) and a *British White Book,* along with hearing stories from Polish and French refugees, he was in January 1941 already well aware of the Jewish slaughter occurring and still in store for the remaining European Jews. (At this point the Wannsee Conference was still a year away!) Already, the "I alone have escaped to tell you the story" anecdotes were the refugee's stock and trade. These stories didn't really improve with age, of course, they just got more numerous, as did the refugees, and more audacious as the stories were accepted without question, setting the stage for the anxious, guilt-ridden accounts of post-war raconteurs like Levi.

In school ("fourth year of pure chemistry"), he decided chemistry would no longer solve his problems and resolved to pursue physics. As an assistant, he was called upon to prepare pure, dry benzene for an experiment by distilling the solvent over sodium, a rather simple undergraduate operation. Using potassium instead of sodium, and apparently as adeptly as one might expect "Dr." Szymon Wiesenthal to practice "Inzyniera Architekta" (architectural engineering), he caused a laboratory fire which propelled him into his next literary effort, "Nickel."

Properly, the book contains no index. For any inquiring mind, however, there is little within its covers which is worth looking for. Compared to other "I was there" books, those of Langbein, Kraus, Kulka, Kogon, and Adler to name but a few, it is nothing. In an era characterized by its plethora of dogmatic, sterile, thought-torpifying "books," it may make it in some circles as a "best seller" and thereby qualify as the authoritative basis of a Hollywood "docudrama" on the "Holocaust." For anyone who is looking for fresh information, intellectual stimulation, or for that matter beautiful prose, the book, even by Exterminationist standards, is a failure. If intended as a contribution to culture, perhaps Dr. Levi's prose lost much of its beauty in translation.

About the Contributors

ROBERT CHAPMAN has been a stockbroker specializing in North American and South African gold and silver stocks for 25 years. He currently has over 4,000 clients and manages more than $80 million on a discretionary basis. For over 21 years he has written numerous articles on history, economics, international finance and gold and silver stocks. He is 49 years old, attended Northeastern University, majoring in business, and worked in U.S. Counterintelligence in the mid 1950's. He also lived in South Africa and Rhodesia studying the mines in the early 1970's.

ROBERT FAURISSON is an associate professor of French literature, specializing in document and text appraisal, at the University of Lyon-2 in France. He is the author of *Mémoire en defense contra ceux qui m'accusent de falsifier l'Histoire* and *Réponse à Pierre Vidal-Naquet.*

WILLIAM B. LINDSEY received his B.Sc. degree from the University of Texas and his Ph.D. in Chemistry from Indiana University. He has been a professional research chemist with a major corporation for 31 years. As a chemist he has for some years been interested in the question of the alleged role of the chemical fumigant Zyklon B in the "Holocaust" story.

CHARLES LUTTON holds degrees in International Relations (B.A., M.A.) and a Ph.D. in History. He teaches courses on the political and military history of the twentieth century at several leading policy think-tanks, and has been published in many scholarly and popular journals.

VALENTYN MOROZ is a prominent Ukrainian dissident and fighter for human rights and national freedom. He spent 13 years (1965 to 1979) in Soviet prisons and concentration camps for his political beliefs. Moroz was born in 1936 in western Ukraine. After graduate studies in history at the University of Lvov (Lviv) in 1958, he worked as a secondary school teacher in his native region. From 1963 to 1965 he taught modern history at teachers colleges in Lutsk and Ivano-Frankivsk while completing his Ph.D. thesis. He was arrested in September 1965 on a charge of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda designed to undermine or weaken Soviet power" for urging the secession of Ukraine from the USSR. He was sentenced in 1966 to four years in a labor camp with a strict regime. While in solitary confinement in a labor camp prison, he completed a lengthy essay in 1967 entitled *Report from the Beria Reserve,* which was smuggled out and later published in the West. He was transferred to the central KGB prison in Kiev in late 1967 and then, in 1969, to the notorious Vladimir prison. Moroz was released in late 1969 but was arrested again nine months later on a new charge of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." He was sentenced in November 1970 to six years of prison in strict isolation, plus three years in a prison camp with a strict regime, and five years of internal exile. He was badly mistreated during this new term of imprisonment and went on several hunger strikes in protest. Moroz was released in 1979 along with four other Soviet spies. After his arrival in America he worked for a year as a Senior Research Fellow at the Harvard University Department of History. He completed his Ph.D. in 1982 at the Ukrainian Free University in Munich. Dr. Moroz now lives and works with his wife in Toronto, where he edits a quarterly Ukrainian journal. He is a prolific contributor to numerous Ukrainian publications in Canada and the United States, and has lectured and taught widely in North America, Europe and Australia.

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INGRID WECKERT is the author of *Feuerzeichen* ("Fire Sign"), an examination of the "Crystal Night" of November 1938 and German-Jewish relations during the 1930s. At the end of the Second World War Weckert was a teenager in devastated Berlin. After Gymnasium graduation she studied theology, including Judaic studies, in Switzerland. She deepened her understanding of the history and character of the Jewish people during numerous stays in Israel. Frau Weckert is a librarian by profession, but for the past several years she has devoted considerable time to historical research and writing. She now lives in Munich.

International Revisionist Conference papers read by Robert Faurisson, Ingrid Weckert, Valentyn Moroz and Robert Chapman published in their printed version in this issue of *The Journal of Historical Review* are available on audio cassette from the Institute at $8.95 per lecture.

MONUMENTAL

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